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LIVES OF
CORNELIUS NEPOS

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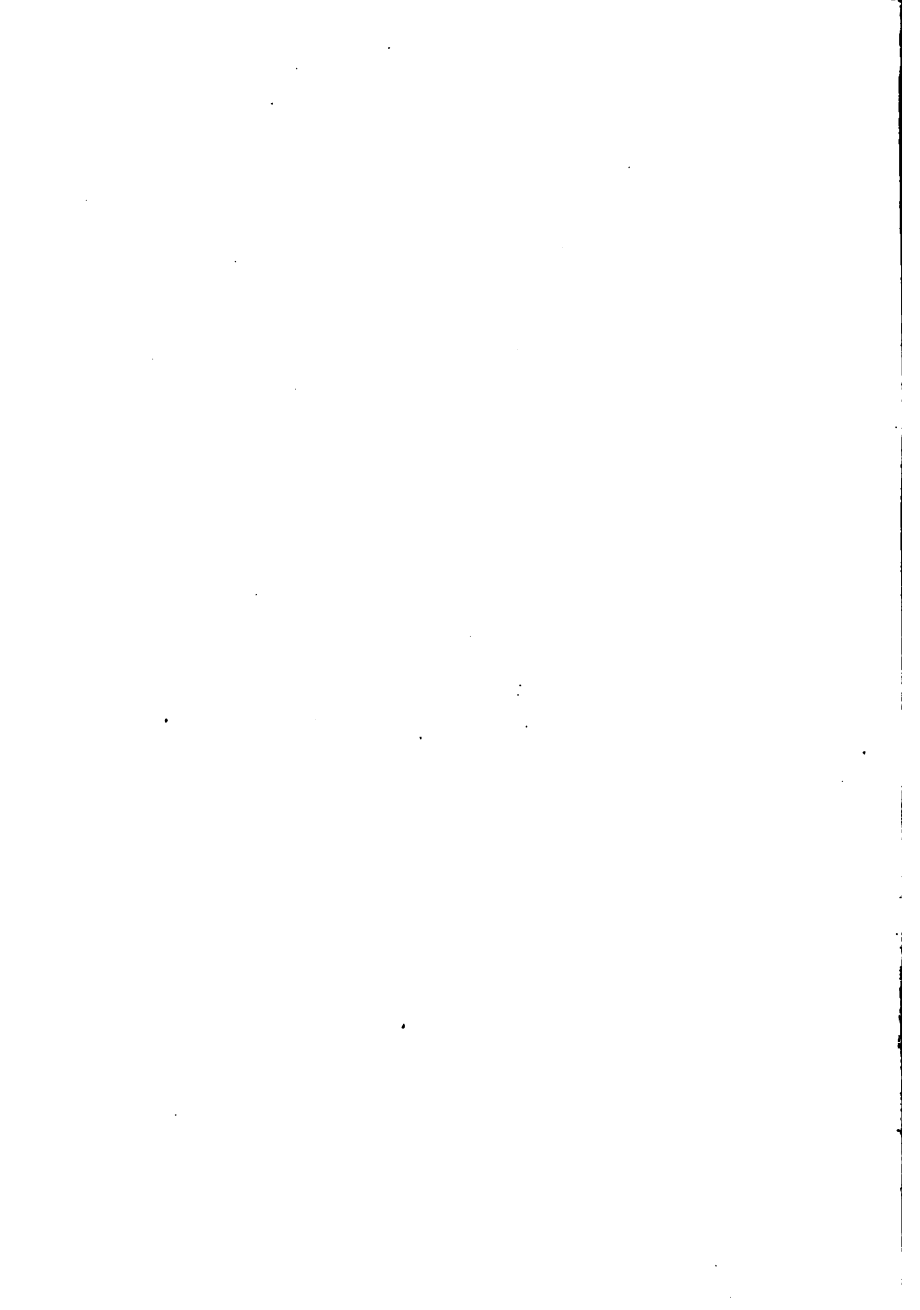
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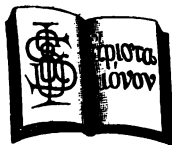
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The Students' Series of Latin Classics

THE
LIVES OF CORNELIUS NEPOS

EDITED
WITH NOTES
AND
AN INTRODUCTION ON THE RAPID READING OF
LATIN AND THE ART OF TRANSLATION

BY
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INTRODUCTION.

NEPOS' *Lives* is a work so well adapted to the wants of young readers that it might almost have been written expressly for pedagogic use. Even its defects lend it a certain merit, when considered as a schoolbook. If the biographies are for the most part scrappy and superficial, it is because they were addressed to an unlearned public by a writer himself uncritical and simple-minded. Had Nepos been a trained historian, he would hardly have preserved his familiar and easy manner. The *Lives*, however, are no mere epitomes. They are redeemed by their distinctly anecdotal character, as well as by the fresh feeling and evident sincerity of the writer. Admiration of his heroes leads him often, to be sure, to exaggerate their virtues and achievements in a boyish way; but the admiration is always real, the sympathy is with noble things, the simple pathos is genuine. Nepos was chiefly concerned with his subject-matter, the little story that he had to tell. Hence, though properly artistic, as every ancient author was in some measure bound to be, he is not rhetorical or affected. His faults as a writer are occasioned by too little rather than too much attention to the strict demands of literary form and usage.¹

¹ The Latin Conference of the 'Committee of Ten' has recommended that 'a portion of the *Lives* of Cornelius Nepos should be substituted for a part or the whole of Caesar's *Gallic War*' in the preparatory course. The recommendation will help to restore to its rightful place a book which has been strangely excluded of late from American schools. Thirty-five years ago, at Andover Phillips Academy for example, a good part of Nepos used to be read, also Sallust's *Catiline*,

Learners of Latin, so far as reading is concerned, must deal with their first author precisely as they will have to deal with later ones. The chapters of a book must be read and re-read, aloud and carefully, before they can be analyzed or translated. If the natural order of approach may ever be safely disregarded, the advanced student can more safely allow himself to disregard it than the beginner. Supposing Nepos to be the first Latin author taken up by a class after acquiring from a preliminary manual some familiarity with the fundamental principles of the grammar, and the simpler combinations of word and phrase, to allow such a class to puzzle out and patch together the author's meaning by slow analysis through an English medium before repeatedly exercising them in rapid rhythmical reading of the Latin text in large masses, with a view to the combined effects upon the ear and mind, is a perverse and most unprofitable mode of procedure. It should be accounted as an axiom, that what an author has written must be read first and translated afterward, if translated at all, especially in the early, formative stages of the student's career.²

but no Caesar. All three authors deserve a place in the preparatory course, but Nepos is the one that ought always to be read in full, while of Caesar a single book is certainly enough. The very merit of the Commentaries constitutes their inappropriateness as a beginner's book. The Dictator himself, *homo humanissimus*, would have been sorely puzzled could he have foreseen the importance that his campaign-notes were to assume in the education of youth. The Lives, on the other hand, with their varied and instructive subject-matter, are full of human interest, while offering a *minimum* of difficulty in the language.

² By rapid reading we mean *reading*, as distinguished from the common practice of translating Latin books without reading them. So the phrase 'reading at sight' has come to be used in a peculiar way, in the warfare that is being waged against the same preposterous habit. With translation at sight, in the proper sense of examination upon passages previously unseen, *ad aperturam libri*, we are not concerned in this Introduction. Rapid reading of Latin—neither more nor less rapid than is suited to the passage in hand, *untranslated* reading, so far from being an unstudied performance, calls for study of the most genuine and thoughtful character. But the first stage of that study,

It is well to print the text of Latin books intended for young readers in such a way as to facilitate to the utmost a correct and intelligent recitation of it. For the sake of an exact pronunciation of the words, the quantitative value of all the syllables can be made clear by marking every vowel that is naturally long. The mind will thus not be diverted from the sense of what is read by an effort to remember the right pronunciation of words that are comparatively unfamiliar.³ A guide to the proper delivery of the thought will be looked for in the punctuation. This ought to be such as to assist the reader in reproducing the sense through the sound nearly as the author himself might have wished to hear it reproduced. Although ancient and modern writing are naturally to be punctuated for the most part in the same way, yet in Latin the strong tendency to periodic structure, and the important mutual relations of arrangement and emphasis, give rise to some peculiarities of pointing. Antithetical or balanced groups need to be marked off by distinct pauses, when so arranged as to hold the mind of the

as well as its final issue, consists in the reading itself. Before doing anything else the class in Nepos should learn to read aloud by the page and paragraph 'with right accent and grace,' day after day, with a great deal of re-reading—after the model set by the teacher reading aloud to them from time to time still larger portions of the text, whole Lives, with spirit and precision.

³ Beginners of Latin nowadays are fortunate in using books so printed as to enable them to learn the vowel quantities in a natural way. We are led to fear, however, that here, as elsewhere, theory is often allowed to take the place of practice. If an exact quantitative pronunciation of words were insisted upon from the very beginning, right reading would soon become a second nature. No learner thus trained would find the least difficulty in reciting Latin verses as they should be recited, that is by ear, without thought of the metrical scheme. After once learning an exact pronunciation the reader will no longer need the printed marks. It would be well, however, if the ablative ending *ā* were indicated in all prose writing, and if such forms as *pervenit* and *pervēnit* were regularly distinguished. A Roman speaker could make himself intelligible only by carefully observing such distinctions, and why should that which the hearer needed be denied to the reader?

hearer in suspense to the end of the series. This is true, not of clauses only, but also of single words and phrases, with their various degrees of weight and significance. The Roman writer, as a rule, emphasized an idea by giving it a foremost place; its emphasis and prominent position were often to be determined largely by the pause preceding it. In many respects, however, the classical Latin needs less frequent marking to guide the eye and ear than most modern writing needs. Its elaborate system of inflected forms is helpful in this regard; its rhythmical qualities are superior, and the ancient writer was carefully attentive to the artistic combination of the effects of sense and sound. In a good Latin author much of the rhythmical grouping cannot fail to be instinctively seized by the practised and interested reader. Too frequent punctuation would tend to break the easy rapid flow of the discourse and diminish its power. The comma is needed, not to indicate necessary relations of grammar or of logic, but chiefly as a guide to the proper distribution of emphasis, and to mark rhetorical symmetry and perspective.⁴

The Latin occasionally demands a pause that might fail to be rightly placed by one unfamiliar with the idiom. *Hāc rē audītā barbarus, nihil doli subesse crēdēns, postrīdiē aliēnissimō sibi locō . . . cōflīxit.* (II. 4.) The division after *barbarus* is not only suggested by the cadence and the symmetry of the *cola*, but is required by the emphasis. On the other hand, the

⁴ A 'member' of discourse, the Greek *κῶλον*, is thus defined by the Auctor ad Herennium, IV. 19, 26: *membrum appellatur res breviter absoluta, sine totius sententiae demonstratione.* Its rhythmical character is indicated in the definition given by Quintilian, IX. 4, 123: *membrum est sensus numeris conclusus, sed a toto corpore abruptus et per se nihil efficiens.* Not by any means all of the groups which the ancients would have counted as *cola* need to be indicated by punctuation. On the other hand, some of our pointing would probably have seemed strange to them; for example the comma before and after vocatives, and in many cases of apposition. A comma should never be so placed as to suggest a pause that is positively wrong, thus disturbing the mind as well as offending the ear, if not totally disregarded.

context of the passage quoted shows that *barbarus* does not need to be emphasized. That the first *colon*, as indicated above, forms by itself a collocation perfectly natural to the Roman ear is shown by such sentences as the following. *Huius Pausaniās voluntāte cōgnitā, in sūspiciōnem cecidit Lacedaemoniōrum.* (IV. 2.) *Hōc aeger sūptō, sōpitus diem obiit suprēmum.* (X. 2.) Here the writer might have said, *quem aeger cum sumpsisset*; or in the first passage quoted, *quam rem cum audisset barbarus.* With the first passage compare also the following. *Illā igitur corōnā contentus Thrasybūlus, neque amplius requisivit neque quem quam honōre sē antecēssisse existimābat.* (VIII. 4.) The pause is demanded by the negative, while the cadence produced is harmonious and satisfying.

The punctuation may be different in different periods when the grammatical construction remains the same. The following sentence is naturally recited without deliberate pausing. *Erat . . . adeō veritātis diligēns ut nē iocō quidem mentīrētur.* (XV. 3.) But in the next example we must divide before *ut*, in order to bring clearly to view the antithetical relation subsisting between the two clauses that follow it. *Quem quidem sic omni disciplinā militārī erudit, ut quem ad modum quondam Fabiānā militēs Rōmae, sic Īphicratēs apud Graecōs in summā laude fuerint.* (XI. 2.) A dependent clause, when placed before that to which it is subordinated, as is very often done in Latin, must always be distinctly marked off by pauses. But the same construction is sometimes to be read without division when instead of preceding it follows the main statement. Both effects are shown in the next passage. *Quārē, si quid amīcē dē Rōmānis cogitābis, nōn imprūdenter fēceris si mē cēlāris; cum quidem bellum parābis, tē ipsum frūstraberis si nōn mē in eō prīncipem posueris.* (XXIII. 2.)

The construction of the ablative absolute is sometimes clearly intended by the writer to be thrown into bold relief as the concise equivalent of a clause. Often, however, this characteristic Latin idiom is seen to be too closely inwrought into the fabric

of the sentence to admit of pausing. The following passage will serve to illustrate both forms. *Hāc pūgnā pūgnātā, Rōmam profectus nullō resistente, in propinquis urbī montibus morātus est.* (XXIII. 5.) A very noteworthy form of the absolute construction is when a relative clause forms the subject of the participle. *Namque, undique quī Athēniēnsium rēbus studuissent ēiectis, decem delēgerat in unāquāque civitāte, etc.* (VI. 1.) Sentences of this character are never intelligibly punctuated in the editions.

The style of Nepos is well suited for early practice in rapid reading. There is a prevailing clearness and simplicity of the thought, with sufficient perspicuity, and in the main a straightforward manner; and yet the structure is essentially periodic. Long and complicated periods are comparatively infrequent, and considerable skill is shown in avoiding a monotonous effect by the alternation of longer and shorter groups. The strain put upon the attention of the reader is thus less severe in Nepos than in some more elaborate writers of the same class, while he is free from the other sort of difficulty often found in the epigrammatic terseness that accompanied the reaction against the Ciceronian style. The brevity of Nepos, if sometimes a trifle barren, is never obscure nor affected. The following selection from the Life of Epaminondas is a good specimen of the author's way of handling the larger rhetorical masses. (XV. 6.)

*Idem cum in conventum vēnisset Arcadum
petēns ut societātem cum Thēbānīs et Argivīs facerent
contrāque Callīstratus Athēniēnsium legātus
quī eloquentiā omnēs eō praestābat tempore
postulāret ut potius amicitiam sequerentur Atticōrum
et in orātiōne suā multa invectus esset in Thēbānōs et Argivōs
in eisque hōc posuisset
animum advertere debēre Arcadēs quālēs utraque civitās civēs prō-
creāset
ex quibus dē cēterīs possent indicāre*

*Argivōs enim fuisse Orestem et Alcmeonem mātricidās
Thēbis Oedipum nātum
quī cum patrem suum interfēcisset ex mātre liberōs prōcreāset
huic in respondendō Epamīnōndās
cum dē cēteris perōrāsset
postquam ad illa duo opprobria pervēnit
admīrārī sē dixit stultitiā rhētoris Attici
quī nōn animadverteret
innocentēs illōs nātōs domi
scelere admissō cum patriā essent expulsī
receptōs esse ab Athēniēnsibus.*

Untranslated reading of Latin, while training the ear and mind to the ancient idiom as they can be trained in no other way short of actual conversation, enables a student to acquire rapidly, through a purely natural effort, much that is obscured or lost or rendered repulsive by the usual methods of premature analysis. To require the young learner to be constantly engaged in the effort to translate, and to catechize him continually upon the grammatical principles underlying what he has to interpret, is to divert his attention in a fatal manner from that upon which the mind is naturally led to dwell in reading to matters that properly belong to the sphere of sub-conscious mental action. In reading a book there is a certain amount of conscious energy available, for the time being, and in the nature of things such energy cannot be steadily divided without serious waste of power and loss of perception. The wrong done by extended, unrelieved analytical study is twofold: it prevents the learner from seeing and feeling whole effects as such; and it destroys his relish for accessory parts and involved principles by presenting them in a false light, as if they possessed intrinsic value as ends in themselves. The careful reading and re-reading of page after page of sonorous Latin, free from the wearisome interruption of parsing and translation-work, not only brings the student daily face to face with the author and his manner,

but arouses a genuine, spontaneous spirit of scholarly inquiry into that which lies beneath. Pupils who are given to understand that their first duty is to *read* intelligently and well will reward their teachers by developing a wholesome interest in the things about which they have to read as well as in the essential facts of the language itself. "Many a boy has hated, and rightly hated, Homer and Horace the pedagogues and grammarians, who would have loved Homer and Horace the poets had he been allowed to make their acquaintance. . . . How many boys have not sympathized with Heine for hating the Romans because they invented Latin grammar? And yet they were quite right, for we begin the study of languages at the wrong end, at the end which Nature does not offer us, and are thoroughly tired of them before we arrive at them, if you will pardon the bull. But is that any reason for not studying them in the right way?" That is the best reason in the world for studying them in the right way, if they are to be studied at all, as Mr. Lowell meant to say; because we will not see our friends, the ancients, misrepresented and misunderstood.⁵

It is no paradox to affirm that the elements of the art of translation are not likely to be well learnt in our schools until the prevailing custom of translating everything is abandoned. When the fact comes to be generally recognized that the trans-

⁵ Beginners must be allowed to read a great deal of Latin, and hear a great deal read, which at first they cannot fully understand or follow. "The only way to learn to do a thing is to do it," as Professor Greenough remarks in connection with this subject: Introduction to Quintus Curtius, edited for Sight-Reading by Harold N. Fowler. Teachers should have confidence in the methods of nature and be willing to make due allowance for the effects of unconscious cerebration. It is a serious mistake to expect young learners to be able to explain everything that they can do. No teacher of preparatory Latin can afford to be unacquainted with Professor Hale's pamphlet, *The Art of Reading Latin*; but learners must not be troubled with the *science* that underlies the Art any further than is found necessary in order to clear up difficulties otherwise insuperable.

lating of Latin into English is rather an exercise in English than in Latin; that a knowledge of the Latin language is to be tested by the reading and writing of Latin and not by the reading and writing of English; and when, consequently, for the sake of a clear insight into the ancient tongue, the distorting effects of a constant obtrusion of the modern idiom shall be done away with, then, and not till then, will the beauty and usefulness of translation be rightly understood and appreciated. The mischief caused by the confusion of modern and ancient idioms is incalculable on both sides: but the harm done to English is more serious than the hindrance thus offered to progress in true classical learning; and experience leads us to believe that the average student of Latin in our American schools receives an injury from the habit of translating which is permanent and irreparable. Translation may be successfully taught in any school, and good translation may be strictly enforced with all students, but only if its exercise is confined to very limited portions of the whole amount of Latin read. "In the classical schools, teachers of Greek and Latin may do much to help the cause of good English without going out of their way or of what should be their way. They may insist, for example, that every translated sentence, whether spoken or written, shall be a good English sentence at all points. . . . The truth is that the study of other languages than our own, whether ancient or modern, may be so pursued as to harm the cause of good English, or so pursued as to be of great service to it."⁶

⁶ From an article by Professor A. S. Hill: *English in the Schools*, *Harper's Magazine*, June, 1885. It is true that if translation were rightly taught from the beginning it might be constantly applied, at least in the work of superior students, with comparatively little harm to their English. But, as we have seen, much of translation is to be avoided for the sake of free progress and true proficiency in the Latin itself; and practically, in most schools, with large classes in Latin, extended translation, even if desirable, could never be properly guarded.

Short passages selected from those portions of a Latin author which have already become familiar through repeated reading and explanation may be assigned to learners for translation, to be presented either orally or in writing. It is evident that the thoughtful performance of such an exercise must be based upon careful study of the assigned passage in all its details; and when the translation thus prepared comes to be presented, it should not merely be criticised as an English version, but its rationale should be probed and tested by miscellaneous questions upon the facts and principles involved in the Latin original. The best kind of intensive study may be thus combined with practice in the art of translation. At present, the sort of study commonly given to Latin books is neither intensive nor extensive, but results in a hybrid process mischievously absorbing the time that ought to be divided between wide reading on the one hand and close investigation on the other. In consequence of attempting to translate everything nothing is translated well; and this, together with the pretence of analyzing more than it is possible to analyze with care, fosters unthinking superficiality and painfully limits the amount of Latin read. No student should be allowed to attempt more translating than his ability and the time at his disposal enable him to do thoroughly well. It is advisable to make the passages designated for minute study and elaborated translation in some degree continuous, so as to form together a connected whole. In Nepos, for example, the several chapters of one of the longer Lives might be apportioned from time to time for this purpose to the various members of a class; so that a good version of the one Life could be completed while all the Lives in the book were being read. Passages offering peculiar difficulties should be turned by the teacher, as models.

The final test of a good translation is when it contains nothing which could lead one to suspect that it is a translation and not an original composition. The purpose of all translation is to reproduce ideas with exactness and, when possible, to pre-

serve the form and spirit in which they are expressed. To this end the rhetorical characteristics of the original style are highly important; the grammatical constructions, as such, are of no importance at all. Of style, however, only the larger and more salient features are capable of being even faintly preserved in a foreign idiom. For this reason the best translation of any artistic literary performance, whether in prose or verse, must fail to satisfy a reader truly conversant with the original work. As well might one try to admire the reverse side of an embroidery, to borrow the simile of Cervantes. In some cases it is not worth while to imitate an author's idiosyncrasies in the least degree, especially when translating from an ancient into a modern tongue. Any attempt to reproduce the manner of a Thucydides, for example, could at the best only create amusement as an ingenious experiment or a *tour de force*. Nevertheless, the art of translation has its use and necessity; and, when properly treated, it can be made of the highest value in education. Although the translating of Latin into English or of English into Latin is attended with peculiar difficulties, by reason of the wide difference between the ancient and modern modes of expression, yet with proper care learners of ordinary ability may be taught even here to employ successfully the elements of the art.

The primal units in translation are the ideas represented by single words. "Words are the sole elements of all literary expression; upon their weight and color depend all possible literary effects." In view of the vast importance of word-study, it is fortunate that it can be profitably pursued in a foreign language independently of connected translation. Indeed, one of the great advantages of untranslated reading consists in the fact that it leaves room for that clear objective scrutiny of the individual word which is sure to be blurred and slighted under the habit of translating. The basal meaning of every word that occurs in reading must be known, and the special shade of signification which it gains from the context must be recog-

nized, before the whole thought can be perfectly comprehended; to find the right English equivalent for a Latin word in a connected idiomatic translation of a given passage is quite another matter, and by no means necessary for clear insight in reading. It is encouraging and helpful to young learners to be enabled to perceive, as they often may, that the meaning of a word can be exactly apprehended in its Roman setting when no adequate translation of the passage containing it could be made. Indeed, the precise equivalent of a word in another language, wholly satisfactory when taken alone by itself, is sometimes quite inadmissible in rendering the combined thought of which that word is one of the elements. Thus, while words lie at the very beginning of the translator's art, to detect and seize their vague, elusive counterparts is the crown and consummation of his toil. "Translation," Rufus Choate is reported to have said, "should be pursued to bring to mind and to employ all the words you already own, and to tax and torment invention and discovery and the very deepest memory for additional, rich, and admirably expressive words."

In passing from words to phrases we enter the domain of idiom. Idiomatic structure gives the translator less difficulty in the end than is caused by words, since the ways of turning idioms, though not fixed and invariable, are comparatively definite and limited in number. To translate idioms perfectly one must be a master of the languages concerned; but only genius achieves the perfect mastery of words. The ordinary learner of Latin, however, if warned at the outset that an idiomatic phrase must not be literally translated, can gradually be made familiar with the corresponding formulas in Latin and English, so as to employ those of most frequent occurrence with some facility and skill. *In scaenam prodire ac populo esse spectaculo.* 'To come upon the stage and make a public exhibition of oneself.' (*Praef.* 5.) It is one thing to know what the predicate dative means, and quite another thing to turn it in a given instance; but in any case it must not be literally turned.

Cum tantis copiis quantas neque ante nec postea habuit quisquam. 'With a larger force than any man has possessed before or since.' (II. 2.) The difference of idiom here, is distinct enough, and the beginner may be taught never to disregard it in translating. *Haec praecipienda videntur lectoribus, ne alienos mores ad suos referant.* 'It seems well to warn my readers not to measure foreign customs by the standard of their own.' (XV. 1.) Here, the grammatical construction is untranslatable even into bad English. Would it were always thus evasive!⁷

Skilful treatment of the sentence and the period in translation is a task calling for profound study and beset with various difficulties. An intricate Latin period, however perspicuous and tuneful in the reading, will often baffle the translator who aims to preserve even the most prominent features of the original style. We may successfully imitate the manner of a Latin author in writing Latin, or the manner of an English author, if we care to attempt such a thing, in writing English; but in rendering one of these languages into the other it is generally quite enough if we can reproduce the ideas with clearness, euphony, and precision. Young students should never be required to translate highly complex and elaborate passages of Latin. The learner can be taught to read with

⁷ Translation, when not confined to its proper sphere, becomes an agent of sophistry. What is called 'literal' translation is apparently felt to be a convenient device for usurping and combining the functions of grammatical interpretation and word-definition. As a test of grammatical principle, however, all translation, whether made to offend the vernacular idiom or not, is untrustworthy and misleading. In the matter of securing a true vocabulary, the habit of translating everything, *verbatim* or otherwise, is directly opposed to distinctness of view: instead of a series of well-defined images, that untranslated reading would leave unobscured, there is the effect of blur and distortion. Finally, as regards the order of thought, to translate means mostly to destroy. As commonly practised, the translation of Latin into English not only enables both teacher and pupil to save themselves the trouble of seeing and thinking clearly, but prevents them from seeing clearly if they will. At the best, translation is but a superficial test of knowledge, as far as concerns the language *from* which the translating is done.

clear perception and with zest where he could not for a moment be expected to translate. How many a bright-minded boy or girl in our schools is repelled, in weary disgust, from the pages of Cicero or Vergil by being forced to hear their duller classmates' mockery of English, as well as by their own futile efforts to translate passages of which few adept scholars could give more than a tolerable rendering! Yet what delight would not the music and clear imagery of those authors bring to the mind of such a boy or girl, were they not obscured and caricatured by the folly and delusion of the translation-habit! You can help and inspire your best pupils by revealing to them the impossibility and the needlessness of unlimited translation. Every teacher is in duty bound to save his pupils as far as he can from the vexation and discouragement that attend all impracticable endeavor.

Not merely negative instruction, however, but some positive skill can be imparted to beginners in the translation of periods, if the approach is made gradual and the tasks are limited in extent. Passages of considerable intricacy may in the course of time, after a number of models have been presented by the teacher, be assigned for written translation, to be broken and recast as clear English seems to require. *Namque huic Miltiadi, qui Athenas totamque Graeciam liberarat, talis honos tributus est, in porticu quae Poecile vocatur cum pugna depingeretur Marathonice, ut in decem praetorum numero prima eius imago poneretur, isque hortaretur milites proeliumque committeret.* 'This man Miltiades, who had saved Athens and all Greece beside, received the following reward. When the battle of Marathon came to be the subject of a picture in the "Painted Stoa," the foremost place among the ten generals was given to the figure of Miltiades, in the act of encouraging his men at the moment of joining battle.' (I. 6.) In translating a passage of this nature, many of the individual words, and most of the grammatical constructions, as such, must be disregarded. But the order of arrangement, the natural and effective sequence of ideas, is to be preserved.

The translating of English into Latin is naturally more difficult than the translating of Latin into English and should be approached with still greater caution and deliberation. While the ability to write Latin is the one trustworthy test of a working knowledge of that language, and while the mastery of forms, syntax, and idiom is best acquired through constant practice in writing, yet such practice in the form of *translation* is the last and highest stage of the exercise, and beyond its simplest elements neither possible nor desirable for the ordinary learner. Here, as almost everywhere in modern school discipline, theory has ruinously encroached upon practice, and would-be science crowds out art. The best part of our knowledge of any language, ancient or modern, the useful body and substance of our whole linguistic outfit, consists of fine details empirically acquired. Yet the merits of a sincere and patient empiricism seem to be nowhere fairly recognized. In the ancient languages, at any rate, the truest kind of study, grounded upon diligent practical exercise and tending, through observation and memory, to the gradual assimilation of a multitude of concrete facts accepted as such without rationalizing effort, rarely finds due opportunity or encouragement. Whole pages of Latin should be written by beginners, with a great deal of help and repetition, severe criticism of errors, and very little discussion of rules. From accurate copying, with the occasional writing out from memory of passages that have been learned by heart, the pupil may advance to the writing of Latin at hearing, dictated by the teacher, at first from a familiar book, and later from some easy text previously unseen. Frequent and extended practice of this sort, until current forms and the ordinary constructions have become thoroughly familiar to the writing hand and mind, should precede anything of the nature of composition or translation.

All good writing is largely an imitative process; and this truth has of late been happily recognized in some manuals of Latin composition. As a first step toward translating English

into Latin the method of retranslation is the safest and most practicable that can be devised, since it affords no suggestion or excuse for literal, unidiomatic rendering. The next stage beyond retranslation pure and simple ought to consist in turning good English that has been made up by variation and recombination of the elements of some version from a familiar Latin original. Here, care must be taken that the student adapt his performance strictly to the Latin model before him, depending upon the English copy only for the bare ideas. The translation of original English into Latin has no place in the preparatory school nor in the prescribed work of a college. In both school and college the ability to write Latin should be made the final test of proficiency in determining any rewards or honors of scholarship. When not vitiated by accompanying questions the test of writing is thoroughgoing and infallible.

It has been possible to do no more within the limits of this Introduction than to trace the outlines of the subjects treated, while offering a few suggestions for the relief and elevation of the early teaching of Latin. We can hold but one opinion as to the true aim of such teaching; and we maintain, further, that its aim must be conceived as single and undivided. Common sense demands that a language should be studied in the first instance solely for the purpose of making use of it—the first indispensable step to all true learning, whether the goal of erudition or only that of culture mark the end. The semblance and conceit of knowledge without its substance or its power is as unhappier thing than ignorance; and the time spent upon any study of the classical languages that does not promptly enable the student to understand and enjoy the classics is worse than wasted. In a certain confusion of the aims and methods of culture with those of erudition, and in excessive protection, well calculated to breed uncertainty of purpose, we find the chief causes of that misunderstanding and obloquy with which a noble discipline has long contended.

PRAEFATIO.

Nōn dubitō fore plērōsque, Attice, quī hōc genus 1
scriptūrae leve et nōn satis dignum summōrum virō-
rum persōnis iūdicent, cum relātum legent quis mūsi-
cam docuerit Epaminōndam, aut in eius virtūtibus com-
memorārī saltāsse eum commodē scienterque tibiis
cantāsse. Sed hī erunt ferē quī, expertēs litterārum 2
Graecārum, nihil rēctum nisi quod ipsōrum mōribus
cōnveniat putābunt. Ei sī didicerint nōn eadem omni- 3
bus esse honesta atque turpia, sed omnia māiōrum insti-
tūtis iūdicārī, nōn admīrābuntur nōs in Grāiōrum virtū-
tibus expōnēdis mōrēs eōrum secūtōs. Neque enim 4
Cimōnī fuit turpe, Athēniēnsium summō virō, sorōrem
germānam habēre in mātirimōniō, quippe cum cīvēs
eius eōdem ūterentur institūtō. At id quidem nostris 5
mōribus nefās habētur. Māgnis in laudibus tōtā ferē
fuit Graeciā, victōrem Olympiae citārī; in scaenam
vērō prōdīre ac populō esse spectāculō, nēminī in

The *Praefatio* answers in part to a modern dedication. The present work is inscribed to T. Pomponius Atticus, the friend of Cicero. 1. **personis**: *characters*. — **relatum**: *commemoratum*. — **commemorari**: dep. on *legent*. — **commode**: *finely*; has reference to the rhythm (*modus*) observed in dancing. — **tibiis c.**: *played the pipes*. 3. **omnibus**: *in the eyes of all*. — **maiorum i.**: by a traditional, that is a national standard. — **Graiorum**: *Graecorum*. 4. **neque enim**: *non enim*. — **sororem g.**: see V. 1, 2. 5. **victorem**: *pred.* — **Olympiae**: *loc.*

- eisdem gentibus fuit turpitudinī. Quae omnia apud
 nōs partim infāmia partim humilia atque ab honestāte
 6 remōta pōnuntur. Contrā ea, plēraque nostrīs mōribus
 sunt decōra quae apud illōs turpia putantur. Quem
 enim Rōmānōrum pudet uxōrem dūcere in convīvium ?
 Aut cūius nōn māter familiās prīmum locum tenet
 aedium atque in celebritāte versātur ? Quod multō
 7 fit aliter in Graeciā. Nam neque in convīvium adhi-
 bētur nisi propinquōrum, neque sedet nisi in interiōre
 parte aedium quae gynaeccōnītis appellātur, quō nēmō
 8 accēdit nisi propinquā cōgnātiōne coniūctus. Sed
 hīc plūra persequi, cum māgnitūdō volūminis pro-
 hibet, tum fēstīnātiō ut ea explicem quae exōrsus sum.
 Quārē ad prōpositum veniēmus et in hōc expōnēmus
 librō dē vitā excellentium imperātōrum.

I.

MILTIADES.

- 1 Miltiadēs, Cimōnis filius, Athēniēnsis, cum et anti-
 quitāte generis et glōriā māiōrum et suā modestiā

6. *contra ea*: on the other hand. — *cuius*: with *mater f.* But we should say, 'In whose house?' — *non*: with the whole sent. — *primum l. aedium*: i.e., the *atrium*, opp. to the Greek γυναικωνίτις ('women's apartments') in *interiore parte aedium*, 7. — *in celebritate v.*: i.e., moving amid throngs of visitors. 8. *voluminis*: *work*.

MILTIADES, DIED B.C. 489. — 1. *cum*: holds the mind of the reader in suspense as far as *accidit*. In Eng. the structure would be inverted, thus: M. . . had just reached the age to realize the hopes entertained of him by his countrymen, *when* it happened, etc. — *modestia*: *modus*, *modestus*: σωφροσύνη, the comprehensive Greek cardinal virtue of 'soundness of mind.'

ūnus omnium mǎximē flōrēret, eāque esset aetāte ut
 nōn iam solum dē eō bene spērāre, sed etiam cōnfidere
 cīvēs possent suī tālem eum futūrum quālem cōgnitum
 iūdicārent, accidit ut Athēniēnsēs Chersonēsum colō-
 nōs vellent mittere. Cūius generis cum māgnus 2
 numerus esset et multī ēius dēmigrātiōnis peterent
 societātem, ex hīs dēlēctī Delphōs dēliberātum missī
 sunt, quī cōnsulerent Apollinem quō potissimum duce
 ūterentur. Namque tum Thrācēs eās regiōnēs tenē-
 bant, cum quibus armīs erat dīmicandum. His cōn- 3
 sulentibus nōminātīm Pŷthia praecēpit ut Miltiadem
 imperātōrem sibi sūmerent; id sī fēcissent, incepta
 prōspera futūra. Hōc ōrāculi respōsō Miltiadēs, cum 4
 dēlēctā manū clāsse Chersonēsum profectus, cum accēs-
 sisset Lēmnum et incolās ēius insulae sub potestātem
 redigere vellet Athēniēnsium, idque Lēmniī suā sponte
 facerent pōstulāsset: illī irridētēs respondērunt, tum 5
 id sē factūrōs, cum ille, domō nāvibus proficiscēns,
 ventō aquilōne vēnisset Lēmnum. Hic enim ventus,
 ab septentriōnibus oriēns, adversum tenet Athēnis
 proficiscēntibus. Miltiadēs, morandī tempus nōn 6
 habēns, cursum dīrēxit quō tendēbat pervēnitque
 Chersonēsum.

1. **unus**: enforces the superlative notion. — **non iam**: *no longer*.
 — **qualem**, etc.: 'as they *did* pronounce him, when tested by experi-
 ence.' — **Chersonesum**: the Thracian peninsula. See Byron's "Isles
 of Greece." 2. **generis**: *i.e.*, of the class of *coloni*. Athenians in
 needy circumstances could better their condition greatly by settling
 as κληροῦχοι ('lot-holders') upon conquered lands at a distance from
 the mother-city. — **deliberatum**: supine. — **quo**: interrog. — **duce**:
 pred. abl. 3. **futura**: *sc. esse*; *i.e.*, as the Pythoness said. 4. **classe**
profectus: *setting sail*. Cf. *navibus proficiscens*, below. — **id face-**
rent: *i.e.*, to accept Athenian domination. 5. **domo**: from Athens
 was of course what the Lemnians meant. — **Athenis**: *from Athens*.
 — **proficiscēntibus**: dative.

- 2 Ibi brevi tempore barbarū cōpiis disiectis, tōtā re-
giōne quam petierat potitus, loca castellis idōnea com-
mūnit, multitudinem quam sēcum dūxerat in agris col-
2 locāvit crebrisque excursiōnibus locuplētāvit. Neque
minus in eā rē prūdentiā quam felicitāte adiūtus est.
Nam cum virtūte militum dēvicisset hostium exerci-
tūs, summā aequitate rēs cōstituit atque ipse ibidem
3 manēre dēcrēvit. Erat enim inter eōs dīgnitāte rēgiā,
quamvis carēbat nōmine, neque id magis imperiō quam
iūstitiā cōsecūtus. Neque eō sētius Athēniēnsibus,
ā quibus erat profectus, officia praestābat. Quibus
rēbus fiēbat, ut nōn minus eōrum voluntāte perpetuō
imperium obtinēret quī miserant, quam illōrum cum
4 quibus erat profectus. Chersonēsō tālī modō cōsti-
tūtā, Lēmnum revertitur et ex pāctō pōstulat ut sibi
urbem trādant; illī enim dīxerant, cum ventō boreā
domō profectus eō pervēnisset, sēsē dēditūrōs: sē
5 autem domum Chersonēsī habēre. Cārēs quī tum
Lēmnum incolēbant, etsī praeter opīniōnem rēs ceci-
derat, tamen nōn dictō sed secundā fōrtūnā adversāri-
ōrum captī, resistere ausī nōn sunt atque ex insulā
dēmigrārunt. Parī felicitāte cēterās insulās, quae
Cycladēs nōminantur, sub Athēniēnsium redēgit pote-
stātem.
- 3 Eisdem temporibus Persārum rēx Dārīus, ex Asiā
in Eurōpam exercitū trāiectō, Scythīs bellum inferre

2. *in agris*: upon their lands. 2. *felicitate*: good luck. 3. *no-
mine*: sc. *regis*. — *neque . . . praestabat*: 'yet was he not the less
active in fulfilling his obligations, etc.' 5. *Cares, etc.*: the Carian
inhabitants of Lemnos. — In his first two chapters the writer confounds
the Elder and the Younger Miltiades. M. I., the uncle of M. II., was
the original settler in the Chersonese; but the latter was likewise despot
there, and the Lemnian episode was a part of his career.

dēcrēvit. Pontem fēcit in Histrō flūmine, quā cōpiās
trādūceret. Eius pontis, dum ipse abesset, cūstōdēs
reliquit prīncipēs quōs sēcum ex Iōniā et Aeolide
dūxerat; quibus singulīs suārum urbium perpetua
dederat imperia. Sic enim facillimē putāvit sē Graecā 2
linguā loquentēs quī Asiam incolerent sub suā reten-
tūrum potestāte, sī amicīs suis oppida tuenda trādidis-
set, quibus sē oppressō nūlla spēs salūtis relinquerētur.
In hōc fuit tum numerō Miltiadēs. Hīc, cum crebrī 3
afferrent nūtiī male rem gerere Dārīum premīque ā
Scythīs, Miltiadēs hortātus est pontis cūstōdēs nē ā
fōrtūnā datam occāsionem liberandae Graeciae dīmit-
terent. Nam sī cum eīs cōpiīs quās sēcum trānsportā- 4
rat interiisset Dārīus, nōn solum Eurōpam fore tūtā,
sed etiam eōs quī Asiam incolerent, Graecī genere,
liberōs ā Persārū futūrōs dominātiōne et periculō:
et facile effici posse; ponte enim rescissō, rēgem vel
hostium ferrō vel inopiā paucīs diēbus interitūrum.
Ad hōc cōnsilium cum plērīque accēderent, Histiaeus 5
Milēsius nē rēs cōnficerētur obstitit, dicēns nōn idem
ipsis quī summās imperī tenērent expedire et multi-

3. **Histro**: the Danube.—**qua**: adv.—**custodes**: pred. acc., imply-
ing a purpose, in which *dum abesset* is involved. The Great King found
it expedient to suppress democratical constitutions in the Greek cities of
Asia Minor (Ionia and Aeolis). He felt that he could depend upon the
loyalty of the Greek *τίπάρχοι* (*principes*) who maintained their despo-
tisms (*perpetua imperia*) only through his support. 2. **sic**: explained
by *si . . . tradidisset*.—**Graeca . . . loquentes**: obj. of *retenturum*.—
amicis: the king chose to regard the despots as his 'friends' from
motives of policy. Histiaeus, tyrant of Miletus, is a famous example.
—**se oppresso**: *ipse si oppressus esset*.—**tum**: at the time of the affair
of the bridge. 4. **Graeci genere**: cf. *Graecā linguā loquentes*, etc., 2.
Here, attracted into the rel. clause. 5. **dicens**, etc.: H. said, *non idem
nobis* (the tyrants) *qui . . . tenemus expedit et multitudinī* (the people).
The same antithesis is marked by *ipsos* and *ipsis* below.

- tūdini, quod Dārī rēgnō ipsōrum nīterētur dominātiō ;
quō exstinctō, ipsōs potestāte expulsōs cīvibus suis
poenās datūrōs. Itaque adeō sē abhorrēre ā cēterōrum
cōnsiliō ut nihil putet ipsīs ūtilius quam cōfirmārī
6 rēgnum Persārum. Hūius cum sententiam plūrimī
essent secūtī, Miltiadēs, nōn dubitāns tam multis cōn-
sciīs ad rēgis aurēs cōnsilia sua perventūra, Chersonē-
sum reliquit ac rūsus Athēnās dēmigrāvit. Cūius
ratiō etsī nōn valuit tamen māgnōpere est laudanda,
cum amīcior omnium libertātī quam suae fuerit domi-
nātiōnī.
- 4 Dārīus autem, cum ex Eurōpā in Asiam redīsset,
hortantibus amīcis ut Graeciam redigeret in suam
potestātem, clāssem quīngentārum nāvium comparāvit
eīque Datim praefēcit et Artaphernem, hīsque ducenta
peditum, decem mīlia equitum dedit, causam inter-
serēns sē hostem esse Athēniēnsibus, quod eōrum
auxiliō Iōnēs Sardīs expūgnāssent suaeque praesidia
2 interfēcissent. Illī praefectī rēgiī, clāsse ad Euboeam
appulsā, celeriter Eretriam cēpērunt omnēsque eius
gentis cīvēs abreptōs in Asiam ad rēgem mīsērunt.
Inde ad Atticam accēssērunt ac suās cōpiās campum
Marathōna dēdūxērunt. Is est ab oppidō circiter
3 mīlia pāssuom decem. Hōc tumultū Athēniēnsēs tam
propinquō tamque māgnō permōtī, auxilium nūsquam
nisi ā Lacedaemoniīs petīvērunt, Phīdippumque, cur-
sōrem eius generis quī hēmerodromoe vocantur, Lace-

3. 5. *quo*: *Dario*. — *civibus s.*: to their countrymen, the *multitudo* in the several cities. 6. *ratio*: *sententia*.

4. *causam i.*: *alleging*. 2. *Eretriam*: in Euboea, opp. the coast of Attica. The Eretrians had helped in the raid on Sardis. — *abreptos miserunt*: *abripuerunt et m.* 3. *Phidippum*: better known as Phidippides. — *hemerodromoe*: *ἡμεροδρόμοι*, 'day-runners.'

daemonem mīserunt, ut nūtiāret quam celerī opus
esset auxiliō. Domī autem creant decem praetōrēs
quī exercitūi praeessent, in eis Miltiadem. Inter
quōs māgna fuit contentiō, utrum moenibus sē dēfen-
derent, an obviam īrent hostibus aciēque dēcernerent.
Ūnus Miltiadēs māximē nītēbātur ut primō quōque
tempore castra fierent. Id sī factum esset, et cīvibus
anīmum accēssūrum, cum vidērent dē eōrum virtūte
nōn dēspērārī, et hostēs eādē rē fore tardiōrēs, sī
animadverterent audērī adversus sē tam exiguis cōpiis
dimicārī.

Hōc in tempore nūlla cīvitas Athēniēnsibus auxi-
liō fuit praeter Plataeēnsēs. Ea mille mīsīt militum.
Itaque hōrum adventū decem milia armātōrum com-
plēta sunt; quae manus mīrābili flagrabat pūgnandī
cupiditate. Quō factum est ut plūs quam collēgae Mil-
tiadēs valēret. Eius ergō auctōritāte impulsī Athēni-
ēnsēs, cōpiās ex urbe ēdūxērunt locōque idōneō castra
fēcērunt. Dein posterō diē sub montis rādīcibus aciē
regiōne instrūctā nōn apertissimā (namque arborēs
multis locis erant rārae) proelium commīsērunt, hōc
cōnsiliō, ut et montium altitūdine tegerentur et arbo-
rum trāctū equitātus hostium impedirētur. Datis, etsī
nōn aequom locum vidēbat suis, tamen frētus numerō
cōpiārū suārū cōnfligere cupiēbat, eōque magis, quod

4. 4. *praetores, etc.*: to represent the Greek *στρατηγοί*. 5. *primo quoque t.*: 'at the earliest possible moment.'—*castra fierent*: the same in effect as *obviam irent, acie decernerent*, above.—*auderi, etc.*: the enemy would note, *audetur adversus nos dimicari*. A double impersonal passive.

5. 2. *collegae*: the other *στρατηγοί*. 3. *tractu*: as if the trees standing here and there (*rarae*) formed a sort of *train*. 4. *suis*: with *aequom*.

- priusquam Lacedaemoniū subsidiō venirent dīmīcāre
 ūtile arbitrābātur. Itaque in aciem peditum centum,
 equitum decem mīlia prōdūxit proeliumque commīsīt.
- 5 In quō, tantō plūs valuērunt Athēniēnsēs ut decem pli-
 cem numerum hostium prōflīgārīnt, adeōque perter-
 ruerint ut Persae nōn castra sed nāvēs petierint. Quā
 pūgnā nihil adhūc exstitit nōbilius. Nulla enim un-
 quam tam exigua manus tantās opēs prōstrāvit.
- 6 Cūius victōriae nōn aliēnum vidētur quāle praemium
 Miltiadi sit tribūtum docēre, quō facilius intellegi
- 2 possit eandem omnium cīvitatū esse nātūrā. Ut
 enim populī Rōmānī honōrēs quondam fuērunt rārī et
 tenuēs ob eamque causam glōriōsī, nunc autem effūsī
 atque obsoletī, sic ōlim apud Athēniēnsēs fuisse reperi-
- 3 mus. Namque huīc Miltiadi, quī Athēnās tōtamque
 Graeciam liberārat, tālis honōs tribūtus est, in porticū
 quae Poecilē vocātur cum pūgna dēpingerētur Mara-
 thōnia, ut in decem praetōrum numerō prīma eius
 imāgō pōnerētur isque hortārētur mīlitēs proeliumque
- 4 committeret. Īdem ille populus, posteaquam māius
 imperium est nactus et largitiōne magistrātuum cor-
 ruptus est, trecentās statuās Dēmtriō Phalēreō
 dēcrēvit.

6. *victoriae*: with *praemium*. — *alienum*: *sc. a re; out of place*.
 2. *tenuēs*: *simple*. — *effusi*, *etc.*: *lavishly bestowed and stale*. 3. *in porticu* . . . *Marathonia*: forms a part of the explanation of *talis*, but is placed before the *ut* clause in a preparatory way. In Eng. a new sent. would begin here. 'When the fight came to be made the subject of a picture in the "Painted Stoa," the foremost place among the generals was given to the figure of M., in the act of encouraging his men at the moment of joining battle.' 4. The causes here assigned for Athenian degeneracy apply rather to the facts of Roman history. — *decrevit*: *voted*. — Demetrius of Phalerum administered the government of Athens under Macedonian supremacy, nearly two centuries later than the time of Miltiades.

Post hoc proelium classem septuaginta navium 7
 Athēniensēs eidem Miltiadi dederunt, ut insulas quae
 barbaros adiūverant bellō persequerētur. Quō im-
 periō, plērāsque ad officium redire coēgit, nōnnūllās vī
 expūgnāvit. Ex hīs Parum insulam opibus elātam 2
 cum orātiōne reconciliāre nōn posset, cōpiās ē nāvibus
 edūxit, urbem operibus clausit omnīque commeātū
 privāvit; dein, vineis ac testudinibus cōstitūtis, pro-
 pius mūrōs accēssit. Cum iam in eō esset ut oppidō 3
 potirētur, procul in continentī lucus, quī ex insulā cōn-
 spiciēbātur, nesciō quō cāsū nocturnō tempore incēnsus
 est. Cūius flamma ut ab oppidānis et oppūgnātōribus
 est vīsa, utrīsqve vēnit in opīniōnem sīgnum ā clās-
 siariis rēgiis datum. Quō factum est, ut et Parii ā dē- 4
 ditiōne dēterrērentur, et Miltiadēs, timēns nē clāssis
 rēgia adventāret, incēnsis operibus quae statuerat,
 cum totidem nāvibus atque erat profectus, Athēnās
 māgnā cum offēnsiōne cīvium suōrum rediret. Accūsā- 5
 tus ergō est prōditiōnis, quod cum Parum expūgnāre
 posset, ā rēge corruptus infectis rēbus discēssisset.
 Eō tempore aeger erat vulneribus quae in oppūgnandō
 oppidō accēperat. Itaque cum ipse prō se dicere nōn
 posset, verba fēcit frāter eius Stēsagorās. Causā cō- 6
 gnitā, capitis absolūtus pecūniā multātus est, eaque līs
 quinquāgintā talentis aestimāta est, quantus in clās-

7. 2. oratione: by argument; opp. to vi. — operibus: for purposes of siege. The vineae and testudines were movable contrivances to afford cover during assault. 3. in eo ut: on the point of. — utrisque, etc.: 'both parties believed.' — classariis r.: the king's marines. 4. totidem atque: the same number as. 6. causa cognita: 'when the case had been heard.' — līs, etc.: the damages were fixed at the amount that had been expended on the fleet. I.e., he was condemned to pay the costs of the expedition.

sem sūmptus factus erat. Hanc pecūniam quod solvere in praesentia nōn poterat, in vincla publica coniectus est ibique diem obiit suprēmum.

- 8 Hic etsi crimine Pario est accusatus, tamen alia causa fuit damnationis. Namque Atheniensēs, propter Pisistrati tyrannidem, quae paucis annis ante fuerat, omnium civium suorum potentiam extimescebant. Miltiadēs, multum in imperiis parvis magnisque versatus, nōn videbatur posse esse privatus, praesertim cum consuetudine ad imperi cupiditatem trahi videretur. Nam in Chersonēsō, omnēs illōs quōs habitarat annōs, perpetuam obtinuerat dominationem, tyrannusque fuerat appellatus sed iustus; nōn erat enim vi consecutus sed suorum voluntate, eamque potestatem bonitate retinebat. Omnēs autem et dicuntur et habentur tyranni qui potestate sunt perpetua in ea civitate quae libertate usa est. Sed in Miltiade erat cum summa humanitas tum mira communitas, ut nemō tam humilis esset cui nōn ad eum aditus pateret; magna auctoritas apud omnēs civitatēs, nobile nōmen, laus rei militaris maxima. Haec populus respiciens, maluit illum innoxium plecti quam se diutius esse in timore.

7. 6. in praesentia: at once. Acc. plur.

8. hic . . . accusatus: 'while the affair of Paros afforded the specific charge (*crimen Parium*) upon which M. was brought to trial.' 3. perpetua: opp. to the annual magistracies known at Rome and in the Greek republics. The words *rupavros* and *rex* have no bad meaning in themselves. 4. humanitas: refinement; the gentle manners induced by liberal culture. *Homo doctissimus et humanissimus*, 'a gentleman and a scholar.' — communitas: affability; defined by what immediately follows. — haec: i.e., the circumstances explained above (1-3). — plecti: punished. — M. was probably not so blameless (in all respects) as the accounts gathered by Nepos cause him to appear.

II.

THEMISTOCLES.

Themistoclēs, Neocli filius, Athēniēnsis. Hūius vitia 1
 ineuntis adulēscētiaē māgnīs sunt ēmendāta virtūti-
 bus, adeō ut anteferātur huic nēmō, pauci parēs puten-
 tur. Sed ab initiō est ōrdiendus. Pater eius Neoclēs 2
 generōsus fuit. Is uxōrem Acarnānam cīvem dūxit,
 ex quā nātus est Themistoclēs. Quī cum minus esset
 probātus parentibus, quod et liberius vivēbat et rem
 familiārem negligēbat, ā patre exhērēdātus est. Quae 3
 contumēlia nōn frēgit eum sed ērēxit. Nam cum
 iūdicāsset, sine summā industriā nōn posse eam ex-
 stinguī, tōtum sē dēdidit rei pūblicae, diligentius
 amicis fāmaeque serviēns. Multum in iūdiis prī-
 vātis versābātur, saepe in cōtīōnem populī prōdibat;
 nūlla rēs māior sine eō gerēbātur; celeriter quae opus
 erant reperiebāt, facile eadem ōrātiōne explicābat.
 Neque minus in rēbus gerendis prōmptus quam excō- 4
 gitandis erat, quod et dē instantibus, ut ait Thūcēdidēs,
 vērissimē iūdicābat et dē futūrīs callidissimē coniciē-
 bat. Quō factum est ut brevī tempore illūstrārētur.

Prīmus autem gradus fuit capessendae rei pūblicae 2

THEMISTOCLES, B.C. 514-449. — 1. *ordiendus*: personal const. *Ordiri aliquem*, 'to begin with a man,' i.e., to begin his history. — 2. *generosus*: *nobili genere natus*. — *Acarn.*: of Acarnania in W. Greece. 3. *maior*: 'of more than usual importance.' For the comparative, cf. *minus probatus, liberius, diligentius*, above. 4. *instantibus*: opp. to *futuris*. Cf. our designation of the current month as *inst.* — *illustraretur*: *illustris fieret*.

2. *Capessere rem publicam*, 'to take hand in affairs of state.'

- bellō Corcȳraeō, ad quod gerendum praetor ā populō factus, nōn solum praesentī bellō sed etiam reliquō
- 2 tempore ferōciōrem reddidit civitātem. Nam cum pecūnia pūblica quae ex metallis redibat largitiōne magistrātuum quotannis interiret, ille persuāsit populō ut eā pecūniā clāssis centum nāvium aedificārētur.
- 3 Quā celeriter effectā, primum Corcȳraeōs frēgit, deinde maritimōs praedōnēs cōnsectandō mare tūtum reddidit. In quō cum divitiis ōrnāvit tum etiam perītissimōs
- 4 bellī nāvālis fēcit Athēniēnsēs. Id quantae salutī fuerit ūniversae Graeciae, bellō cōgnitum est Persicō. Nam cum Xerxēs et marī et terrā bellum ūniversae inferret Eurōpae, cum tantis cōpiis eam invāsīt quan-
- 5 tās neque ante nec postea habuit quisquam: hūius enim clāssis mille et ducentārum nāvium longārum fuit, quam duo milia onerāriarum sequēbantur; ter-
- 6 restrēs autem exercitūs septingenta peditum, equitum quadringenta milia fuērunt. Cūius dē adventū cum fāma in Graeciam esset perlāta, et māximē Athēniēnsēs petī dicerentur propter pūgnam Marathōniam, mīsērunt Delphōs cōnsultum quidnam facerent dē rēbus suis. Deliberantibus Pythia respondit ut
- 7 moenibus ligneis sē mūnīrent. Id respōnsum quō valeret cum intellegeret nēmō, Themistoclēs persuāsīt cōnsilium esse Apollinis ut in nāvēs sē suaeque cōn-
- ferrent; eum enim ā deō sīgnificārī mūrum ligneum.

2. **Corc.**: in fact, Athens was at war with Aegina, not with Corcyra, at the time meant. 2. **metallis**: the silver mines of Laurium in Attica. 4. **bello P.**: the 2d Persian War, B.C. 480. — **tantis . . . quantas**: the Eng. idiom is 'with larger forces than ever, etc.' 6. **maxime p.**: 'to be the chief object of attack.' *petere*, of swordsmen, 'to aim a thrust.' — **consultum**: supine. 7. **quo valeret**: 'what it meant.' — **eum**, etc.: 'for *this* was the wooden wall meant'; namely, their ships.

Tālī cōnsiliō probātō, addunt ad superiōrēs totidem 8
nāvēs trirēmēs, suaeque omnia quae movērī poterant
partim Salamīna partim Troezēna dēportant, arcem
sacerdōtibus paucīsque māiōribus nātū ad sacra prō-
cūranda trādunt, reliquom oppidum relinquunt.

Hūius cōnsilium plērisque cīvitatibus displicēbat et 8
in terrā dīmīcārī magis placēbat. Itaque missī sunt
dēlēctī cum Leōnidā Lacedaemoniōrum rēge, quī Ther-
mopylās occupārent longiusque barbarōs prōgredi nōn
paterentur. Hī vim hostium nōn sustinuērunt eōque
locō omnēs interiērunt. At clāssis commūnis Graeciae 2
trecentārum nāvium, in quā ducentae erant Athēniēn-
sium, primum apud Artemīsium inter Euboeam con-
tinentemque terram cum clāssiāriīs rēgiīs cōnflīxit.
Angustiās enim Themistoclēs quaerēbat, nē multītū-
dine circumīrētur. Hīc etsī parī proeliō discēsserant, 3
tamen eōdem locō nōn sunt ausī manēre, quod erat
periculum nē sī pars nāvium adversāriōrum Euboeam
superāsset, ancipitī premerentur periculō. Quō factum 4
est ut ab Artemīsīō discēderent et exadversum Athē-
nās apud Salamīna clāssē suā cōstituerent.

At Xerxēs, Thermopylīs expūgnātīs, prōtinus accēs- 4
sit astu, idque nūllīs dēfendentibus, interfectīs sacer-
dōtibus quōs in arce invēnerat, incendiō dēlēvit.
Cūius flammā perterritī clāssiāriī cum manēre nōn 2

2. 8. Salamis, the town and island (belonging to Attica) from which the sea-fight was named. Troezen, in the Peloponnese. — arcem: the Acropolis of Athens.

3. 2. Artemisium: a shrine and precinct of Artemis (Diana) at the N. extremity of the island of Euboea. The naval engagement here occurred on the same day as the battle of Thermopylae. 3. superasset: by rounding the S. point of Euboea, the enemy might cut off the retreat of the Greek fleet through the straits.

4. astu: δστυ, the city as a dwelling-place.

- audērent et plūrimī hortārentur ūt domōs suās discēderent moenibusque sē dēfenderent; Themistoclēs ūnus restitit, et ūniversōs parēs esse posse āiēbat, dispersōs testābātur peritūrōs, idque Eurybiadī rēgī Lacedaemoniōrum, quī tum summae imperī praeerat,
- 3 fore affirmābat. Quem cum minus quam vellet movēret, noctū dē servīs suis quem habuit fidēlissimum ad rēgem mīsit, ut eī nūntiāret, suis verbīs, adversāriōs
- 4 ēius in fugā esse. Quī sī discēssissent, māiōre cum labōre et longinquiore tempore bellum cōfectūrum, cum singulōs cōsectārī cōgerētur; quōs sī statim aggrederētur, brevī ūniversōs oppressūrum. Hōc eō valēbat ut ingrātīs ad dēpūgnandum omnēs cōgerentur.
- 5 Hāc rē auditā barbarus, nihil dolī subesse crēdēns, postridiē aliēnissimō sibi locō, contrā opportūnissimō hostibus, adeō angustō marī cōflīxit ut ēius multitūdō nāvium explicārī nōn potuerit. Victus ergō est magis etiam cōsiliō Themistoclī quam armīs Graeciae.
- 6 Hīc etsī male rem gesserat, tamen tantās habēbat reliquiās cōpiārum ut etiam tum eis opprimere posset hostēs. Iterum ab eōdem gradū dēpulsus est. Nam Themistoclēs, verēns nē bellare perseverāret, certiorē eum fēcīt id agī, ut pōns quem ille in Hellēspontō fēcērat dissolverētur ac reditū in Asiam exclūderētur;

4. 2. *universos*: *if united*. — *parēs*: pred.; 'a match for the enemy.' 3. *suis v.*: *i.e.*, in the name of Th. 4. *hoc eo v.*: 'the intention of this was.' Cf. *quo valeret*, 2. 7. *valere aliquo*, 'to have force in some direction.' — *ingrātīs*: 'in spite of themselves.' The Persian admirals, following the suggestions of Th., closed in upon the Greeks, front and rear, thus rendering their dispersion impossible without a fight.

5. *ab eodem*: *Themistocle*. — *gradu depellere*, of swordsmen, 'to put out,' 'disconcert' an adversary. — *id agi*: 'that the intention was.'

idque eī persuāsit. Itaque, quā sex mēnsibus iter
fēcerat, eādē minus diēbus trigintā in Asiam rever- 2
sus est, sēque ā Themistocle nōn superātum sed cōn-
servātum iudicāvit. Sic ūnūs virī prūdentiā Graecia 3
liberāta est Eurōpaeque succubuit Asia. Haec altera
victōria quae cum Marathōniō possit comparārī tro-
paeō. Nam parī modō apud Salamīna parvō numerō
nāvium māxima post hominum memoriā clāssis est
dēvicta.

Māgnus hōc bellō Themistoclēs fuit neque minor in 6
pāce. Cum enim Phalēricō portū neque māgnō neque
bonō Athēniēnsēs ūterentur, hūius cōnsiliō triplex
Piraeī portus cōstitūtus est isque moenibus circum-
datus, ut ipsam urbem dignitāte aequiperāret, utilitatē 2
superāret. Idem mūrōs Athēniēnsium restituit praeci-
puō suō periculō. Namque Lacedaemoniī, causam idō-
neam nactī propter barbarōrum excursiōnēs, quā negā-
rent oportēre extrā Peloponnēsū ūllam urbem mūrōs
habēre, nē essent loca mūnīta quae hostēs possidērent,
Athēniēnsēs aedificantēs prohibēre sunt cōnātī. Hōc 3
longē aliō spectābat atque vidērī volēbant. Athēni-
ēnsēs enim duābus victōriīs, Marathōniā et Salamīniā,
tantam glōriam apud omnēs gentēs erant cōsecūtī ut
intellegerent Lacedaemoniī dē principātū sibi cum eīs
certāmen fore. Quārē eōs quam infirmissimōs esse 4

5. 2. Xerxes' fleet set sail for Asia at once after the defeat at Salamis; but the bulk of his enormous army had to make its way back by land as it had come. 3. *tropaeo*: *victoria*. *τρόπαιον*, a 'trophy' marking the spot where the enemy was 'turned,' i.e., routed.

6. 2. *qua*, etc.: 'for declaring that no city ought,' etc. 3. *hoc*, etc.: 'this had a very different purpose from.' For *alio*, see n. on eo, 4. 4. — *principatu*: the Lacedaemonians were the acknowledged leaders among the Greek states until Athens contested that honor with Sparta,

volēbant. Postquam autem audiērunt mūrōs instrui, lēgātōs Athēnās mīserunt quī id fieri vetārent. His praesentibus dēsiērunt, ac sē dē eā rē lēgātōs ad eōs
 5 missūrōs dixērunt. Hanc lēgātiōnem sūscēpit Themistoclēs et sōlus primō profectus est; reliquī lēgātī ut tum exīrent cum satis altī tuendō mūrī exstrūctī vidērentur praecēpit; interim omnēs, servī atque libērī, opus facerent neque ullī locō parcerent, sive sacer sive profānus, sive privātus esset sive publicus, et undique quod idōneum ad mūniendum putārent congererent. Quō factum est ut Athēniēnsium mūrī ex sacellis sepulcrisque cōnstārent.

7 Themistoclēs autem, ut Lacedaemonem vēnit, adīre ad magistrātūs nōluit et dedit operam ut quam longissimē tempus dūceret, causam interpōnēns sē collēgās
 2 exspectāre. Cum Lacedaemoniī quererentur opus nihilō minus fieri eumque in eā rē cōnārī fallere, interim reliquī legātī sunt cōnsecūtī. Ā quibus cum audisset nōn multum superesse mūnitiōnis, ad ephorōs Lacedaemoniōrum accēssit, penes quōs summum erat imperium, atque apud eōs contendit falsa eis esse dēlāta; quārē aequom esse illōs virōs bonōs nōbilēsque mittere quī rem explōrārent; intereā sē obsi-
 3 dem retinērent. Gestus est ei mōs, trēsque legātī, fūctī summīs honōribus, Athēnās missī sunt. Cum

6. 5. *tuendo*: ad urbem tuendam.

7. *duceret*: 'spin out.' — *causam* i.: cf. c. *interserens*, I. 4, n. 2. *superesse*: 'remained to be done.' — *falsa*, etc.: Th. denied the truth of the reports which stated that the work of fortification was still going on at Athens (*opus fieri*). — *illos*: *ephoros*. Th. said, *aequom est vos viros . . . mittere qui . . . explorent* ('investigate'); *interea me . . . retinete*. 3. *morem gerere alicui*, 'to comply with one's humor or wish.' — *functi s. h.*: men who had filled the highest offices of state; answering to *bonos nobilesque*, above.

hīs collēgās suōs Themistoclēs iūssit proficisci, eisque
 praedixit ut nē prius Lacedaemoniōrum lēgātōs dīmit-
 terent quam ipse esset remissus. Hōs postquam 4
 Athēnās pervēnisse ratus est, ad magistrātum senā-
 tumque Lacedaemoniōrum adiit et apud eōs liberrimē
 professus est: Athēniēnsēs suō cōnsiliō, quod com-
 mūnī iūre gentium facere possent, deōs pūblicōs su-
 ōsque patriōs ac penātēs, quō facilius ab hoste possent
 dēfendere, mūrīs saepsisse; neque in eō quod inūtile
 esset Graeciae fēcisse. Nam illōrum urbem prōpū- 5
 gnāculum oppositum esse barbaris, apud quam iam bis
 clāssēs rēgiās fēcisse naufragium. Lacedaemoniōs 6
 autem male et iniūstē facere, quī id potius intuerentur
 quod ipsōrum dominātiōnī quam quod ūniversae Grae-
 ciae ūtile esset. Quārē, sī suōs lēgātōs recipere vellent
 quōs Athēnās mīserant, sē remitterent, cum aliter illōs
 nunquam in patriam essent receptūrī.

Tamen nōn effūgit cīvium suōrum invidiam. Nam- 8
 que ob eundem timōrem quō damnātus erat Miltiadēs,
 tēstulārū suffrāgiis ē cīvitātē ēiectus, Argos habi-
 tātum concēssit. Hīc cum propter multās virtūtēs 2
 māgnā cum dignitātē vīveret, Lacedaemoniī lēgātōs
 Athēnās mīserunt, quī eum absentem accūsārent quod
 societātē cum rēge Perse ad Graeciam opprimendam
 fēcisset. Hōc crimine absēns prōditiōnis damnātus
 est. Id ut audīvit, quod nōn satis tūtum sē Argīs 3

7. 3. **praedixit**: 'instructed in advance.' 4. **quod . . . possent**: anticipates *deos* . . . *saepsisse*. — **publicos**: of the Greek nation. — **patrios**: of Attica. — **penates**: of individual families. — **in eo**: 'in so doing.' 5. Athens is likened to a sea-wall on which two royal armaments had gone to pieces.

8. **timorem**: see I. 8. — **testularum** s.: by the ostracism, or 'voting with *sherds*.' — **Argos**: to Argos.

vidēbat, Corcȳram dēmigrāvit. Ibi cum eius prīncipēs
 insulae animadvertisset timēre nē propter sē bellum
 eis Lacedaemoniī et Athēniēnsēs indīcerent, ad Ad-
 mētum, Molossūm rēgem, cum quō eī hospitium nōn
 4 erat, cōnfūgit. Hūc cum vēnisset et in praesentia rēx
 abesset, quō māiōre religiōne sē receptum tuerētur,
 filiam eius parvulam arripuit et cum eā sē in sa-
 crārium quod summā colēbatur caerimōniā coniēcit.
 Inde nōn prius ēgressus est quam rēx eum datā dextrā
 5 in fidem reciperet; quam praestitit. Nam cum ab
 Athēniēnsibus et Lacedaemoniīs expōscerētur publicē,
 supplicem nōn prōdidit monuitque ut cōsuleret sibi;
 difficile enim esse in tam propinquō locō tūtō eum
 versārī. Itaque Pydnam eum dēdūcī iūssit et quod
 satis esset praesidī dedit. Hīc in nāvem omnibus
 6 Ignōtus nautīs ēscendit. Quae cum tempestāte māxi-
 mā Naxum ferrētur, ubi tum Athēniēnsium erat
 exercitus, sēnsit Themistoclēs, sī eō pervēnisset, sibi
 esse pereundum. Hāc necessitāte coactus, dominō
 nāvis quis sit aperit, multa pollicēns sī sē cōnser-
 7 vāset. At ille, clārissimī virī captus misericordiā,
 diem noctemque procul ab insulā in salō nāvem
 tenuit in ancorīs, neque quemquam ex eā exīre
 pāssus est. Inde Ephesum pervenit ibique The-
 mistoclem expōnit; cui ille prō meritīs postea grā-
 tiam rettulit.

8. 3. **Molossūm**: *Molossorum*, in Epirus. — **hospitium**: the rela-
 tion of *guest-friendship*. 4. **in praes.**: 'for the time being.' — **maiore**
r.: *i.e.*, with a profounder sense of what was due in the name of religion
 and humanity. — **receptum t.**: *reciperet et tueretur*. — **quam p.**: 'this
 promise of protection he made good.' 5. **tuto**: adv. 6. **hic**: at
 Pydna, in Macedon. Here, Th. embarks for Asia. 7. **salō**: 'the
 high sea.'

Sciō plērōsque ita scrīpsisse, Themistoclem Xerxe 9
 rēgnante in Asiam trānsisse. Sed ego potissimum
 Thūcŷdidī crēdō, quod et aetāte proximus dē eis quī
 illōrum temporum historiam reliquērunt et eiusdem
 cīvitātis fuit. Is autem ait ad Artaxerxē eum
 vēnisse atque hīs verbīs epistulam mīsisse: ‘The- 2
 mistoclēs vēnī ad tē, quī plūrima mala omnium Grā-
 iōrum in domum tuam intulī, quamdiū mihi necesse
 fuit adversum patrem tuom bellāre patriamque meam
 dēfendere. Īdem multō plūra bona fēcī, postquam in 3
 tūtō ipse et ille in periculō esse coepit. Nam cum in
 Asiam revertī vellet, proeliō apud Salamīna factō,
 litteris eum certiōrem fēcī id agī, ut pōns quem in
 Hellēspontō fēcērat dissolverētur atque ab hostibus
 circumīrētur; quō nūntiō ille periculō est liberātus.
 Nunc autem cōnfūgī ad tē, exagitātus ā cūctā Grae- 4
 ciā, tuam petēns amicitiam. Quam sī erō adeptus,
 nōn minus mē bonum amicum habēbis quam fortem
 inimicum ille expertus est. Tē autem rogō ut dē eis
 rēbus quās tēcum colloquī volō annum mihi tempus
 dēs, eōque trānsactō ad tē venīre patiāris.’

Hūius rēx animī māgnitūdinem admīrāns cupiēns- 10
 que tālem virum sibi conciliārī, veniam dedit. Ille
 omne illud tempus litteris sermōnīque Persārum dē-
 didit; quibus adeō ērudītus est ut multō commodius
 dicātur apud rēgem verba fēcisse quam eī poterant quī
 in Perside erant nātī. Hic cum multa rēgī esset polli- 2

9. Xerxes died B.C. 465. — *quod, etc.*: of all the authorities, Thucydides (born B.C. 472) lived nearest to the times of Th., and was, like him, an Athenian. 2. *veni*: the tense is suited to the reader of the letter. *Cf. confugi*, 4. 3. *idem*: ‘yet too I.’ — *ipse*: *ego*. 4. *colloqui*: *talk over*.

10. *commodius*: ‘more eloquently.’ *Cf. saltasse commode, Praef.* 1. n.

- citus grātissimumque illud, si suis uti cōsiliis vellet, illum Graeciam bellō oppressūrum, māgnis mūneribus ab Artaxerxe dōnātus, in Asiam rediit domicilium-
- 3 que Māgnēsiae sibi cōstituit. Namque hanc urbem ei rēx dōnarat, his quidem verbis, quae ei pānem praeberet (ex quā regiōne quinquāgēna talenta quotannis redibant); Lampsacum autem, unde vīnum sūmeret; Myunta, ex quā obsōnium habēret. Huius ad nostram memoriam monumenta mānsērunt duo: sepulcrum
- 4 prope oppidum in quō est sepultus; statua in forō Māgnēsiae. Dē cūius morte multimodis apud plērōsque scriptum est; sed nōs eundem potissimum Thūcydidem auctōrem probāmus, quī illum ait Māgnēsiae morbo mortuom, neque negat fuisse fāmam venēnum suā sponte sūmpsisse, cum sē quae regi dē Graeciā opprimendā pollicitus esset praestāre posse dēspēraret.
- 5 Idem ossa eius clam in Atticā ab amicis sepulta, quoniam lēgibus nōn concēderētur quod prōditionis esset damnātus, memoriae prōdidit.

III.

ARISTIDES.

- 1 Aristidēs, Lysimachī filius, Athēniēnsis aequalis ferē fuit Themistocli. Itaque cum eō dē principātū con-

10. 2. **rediit**: *i.e.*, back to Asia Minor from the Persian court at Susa. 3. **obsonium**: includes every sort of a 'relish.' Myus, near Miletus, was a very small place; but it would help him to butter his bread. 5. **idem**: Thucydides. — **memoriae p.**: 'has recorded.'

ARISTIDES, DIED B.C. 468. — 1. **aequalis**: in age. — **principatu**: not an office, but the first position in the state in honor and influence. Similarly often of the Greek states themselves.

tendit; namque obtrēctārunt inter sē. In hīs autem 2
cōgnitum est quantō antestāret-ēloquentia innocentiae.
Quamquam enim adeō excellēbat Aristīdēs abstinentiā
ut ūnus post hominum memoriam, quem quidem nōs
audierimus, cōgnōmine Iūstus sit appellātus, tamen ā
Themistocle collabefactus, tēstulā illā exsiliō decem
annōrum multātus est. Quī quidem cum intellexeret 3
reprīmī concitātā multitudinem nōn posse, cēdēnsque
animadvertisset quendam scribentem ut patriā pelle-
rētur, quaesisse ab eō dīcitur quārē id faceret, aut
quid Aristīdēs commisisset cūr tantā poenā dignus
dūcerētur. Cū ille respondit, sē ignōrāre Aristīdē; 4
sed sibi nōn placēre, quod tam cupidē elabōrāssset ut
praeter cēterōs Iūstus appellārētur. Hīc decem annō-
rum lēgitimā poenā nōn pertulit. Nam postquam 5
Xerxēs in Graeciam dēscendit, sextō ferē annō quam
erat expulsus, populī scītō in patriam restitūtus est.

Interfuit autem pūgnae nāvālī apud Salamīna, quae 2
facta est prius quā poenā liberārētur. Idem praetor
fuit Athēniēnsium apud Plataeās, in proeliō quō fūsus
barbarōrum exercitus Mardoniusque interfectus est.
Neque aliud est ūllum hūius in rē militārī illūstre fac- 2
tum quam eius imperī memoria, iūstitiae vērō et aequi-

1. 2. *innocentiae*: integrity. — *abstinentia*: the sort of restraint or unselfishness that underlies *iustitia*, which consists in a due regard for the rights of others. — *illa*: designates the ostracism as something notorious. In fact, the institution was a wise and wholesome device to free the state from civil strife. A. was 'supplanted' (*collabefactus*) by Themistocles merely in failing to win approval for his policy over that of his rival. A. was ostracized B.C. 483; Th., twelve years later.
3. *cedens*: 'as he retired from the contest.' — *scribentem, etc.*: i.e., writing the name of A. upon a ballot, to vote for his banishment.
5. *quam*: postquam.

2. 2. *eius imperi m.*: the record of this command, as *σπαργηδς* at Plataea.

- tātis et innocentiae multa; in primis, quod hūius aequitate factum est, cum in commūnī clāsse esset Graeciae simul cum Pausaniā, ut summa imperī maritimī ab Lacedaemoniīs trāsferrētur ad Athēniēnsēs.
- 3 Namque ante id tempus, et marī et terrā ducēs erant Lacedaemoniī. Tum autem et intemperantiā Pausaniae et iūstitiā factum est Aristidis, ut omnēs ferē civitatēs Graeciae ad Athēniēnsium societātem sē applicārent et adversus barbarōs hōs ducēs dēligerent sibi.
- 3 Quōs quō facilius repellerent sī forte bellum renovāre cōnārentur, ad clāssēs aedificandās exercitūsque comparandōs quantum pecūniae quaeque civitās daret, Aristidēs dēlēctus est quī cōstitueret, eiusque arbitriō quadringēna et sexāgēna talenta quotannis Delum sunt collāta. Id enim commūne aerārium esse voluērunt. Quae omnis pecūnia posterō tempore Athēnās trāslāta est. Hic quā fuerit abinentiā, nūllum est certius indicium, quam quod cum tantīs rēbus prae-fuisset, in tantā paupertāte dēcēssit ut quī efferrētur
- 2 vix reliquerit. Quō factum est ut filiae eius publicē alerentur et dē commūnī aerāriō dōtibz datīs collocārentur. Dēcēssit autem ferē post annum quartum quam Themistoclēs Athēnīs erat expulsus.

2. 2. in primis: 'notably'; sometimes written *imprimis*.—summa i.: *principatus*. 3. intemperantia: 'arrogance.'—hos: *Athenienses*.

3. 2. qui: adv., *wherewith*. He left scarcely enough to pay the expenses of his funeral (*elatio, efferre*). 3. collocarentur: *settled in marriage*. To be married without a dowry was nothing short of a disgrace to a woman in ancient Athens.

IV.

PAUSANIAS.

Pausaniās Lacedaemonius māgnus homō, sed varius 1
 in omnī genere vītae fuit. Nam ut virtūtibus elūxit,
 sic vitiis est obrutus. Hūius illūstrissimum est proe-
 lium apud Plataeās. Namque illō duce Mardonius, 2
 satrapēs rēgius, nātiōne Mēdus, rēgis gener, in primīs
 omnium Persārum et manū fortis et cōnsilī plēnus,
 cum ducentis milibus peditum, quōs viritim lēgerat,
 et vīgintī equitum, haud ita māgnā manū Graeciae
 fugātus est eōque ipse dux cecidit proeliō. Quā vic- 3
 tōriā elātus, plūrima mīscēre coepit et māiōra con-
 cupiscere. Sed primum in eō est reprehēnsus, cum ex
 praedā tripodem aureum Delphīs posuisset, epigram-
 mate inscriptō in quō haec erat sententia: suō ductū
 barbarōs apud Plataeās esse delētōs, eiusque victōriae
 ergō Apollinī id dōnum dedisse. Hōs versūs Lace- 4
 daemoniī exsculpsērunt, neque aliud scripsērunt quam
 nōmina eārum cīvitātum quārum auxiliō Persae erant
 victi.

PAUSANIAS, DIED B.C. 467. — 1. *varius*: *uneven*. — *illūstrissimum*: *most brilliant action*. The same metaphor as *eluxit*, *obrutus*, above. 2. *et . . . et*: *correl.* — *haud ita*: ‘*not so very*.’ The Greek force was nevertheless the largest ever mustered on Hellenic ground, before or since; half as large as that of the invaders — the picked army left behind by Xerxes after his defeat at Salamis. The battle of Plataea, however, was largely decided by the Spartans, under Pausanias. 3. *mīscere*: of producing complications by intrigue. — *suo d.*: *i.e.*, P. introduced his own name into the inscription. — *ergo*: *on account of*. — *dedisse*: *sc. se*. 4. *exsculpsērunt*: *erased*. The tripod was not a votive offering privately made by P., but one which he had been commissioned to dedicate in the name of the allied Greeks.

- 2 Post id proelium eundem Pausaniam cum clāsse
commūnī Cyprum atque Hellēspontum mīserunt, ut
ex eīs regiōnibus barbarōrum praesidia dēpelleret.
- 2 Parī felicitāte in eā rē ūsus, elātius sē gerere coepit
māiōrēsque appetere rēs. Nam cum Byzantiō expū-
gnātō cēpisset complūrēs Persārum nōbilēs atque in eīs
nōnnūllōs rēgis propinquōs, hōs clam Xerxī remīsīt,
simulāns ex vinclīs publicīs effūgisē, et cum eīs Gon-
gylum Eretriēnsem, quī litterās rēgi redderet in qui-
bus haec fuisse scripta Thūcŷdidēs memoriae prōdidit:
- 3 ‘Pausaniās dux Spartae, quōs Byzanti cēperat, post-
quam propinquōs tuōs cōgnōvit, tibi mūnerī mīsīt,
sēque tēcum affinitāte coniungī cupit. Quārē, sī tibi
- 4 vidētur, dēs ei filiam tuam nūptum. Id sī fēceris, et
Spartam et cēteram Graeciam sub tuam potestātem sē
adiuvante tē redāctūrum pollicētur. Hīs dē rēbus sī
quid agere volueris, certum hominem ad eum mittās
- 5 face cum quō colloquātur.’ Rēx, tōt hominum salūte
tam sibi necessariōrum māgnōpere gāvīsus, cōnfestim
cum epistulā Artabazum ad Pausaniam mittit, in quā
eum collaudat ac petit nē cui rei parcat ad ea efficienda
quae pollicētur; sī perfēcerit, nullīus rei ā sē repul-
- 6 sam lātūrum. Hūius Pausaniās voluntāte cōgnitā,
alacrior ad rem gerendam factus, in sūspiciōnem
cecidit Lacedaemoniōrum. Quō factō domum revo-
cātus, accūsātus capitis absolvitur, multātur tamen
pecūniā; quam ob causam ad clāssem remissus nōn
est.

2. 3. For the tenses employed in the letter, see II. 9, 2, n. (p. 19). — **videtur**: *placet*. 4. **certum h.**: ‘a safe person.’ — **mittas**: vague potential, to express a request, like *des*, above. Here strengthened by *face* (*fac*), ‘pray send.’ 5. **necessariorum**: *propinquorum*. — **repulsam**: subst. In such an event the king will refuse P. nothing he may ask for.

At ille, post nōn multō, suā sponte ad exercitum 3
rediit, et ibi nōn stolidā sed dēmentī ratiōne cōgitāta
patefēcit. Nōn enim mōrēs patriōs solum sed etiam
cultum vestitumque mūtāvit. Apparātū rēgiō utē- 2
bātur, veste Mēdicā; satellitēs Mēdī et Aegyptiī
sequēbantur; epulābātur, mōre Persārum, lūxuriōsius 3
quam quī aderant perpetī possent; aditum petentibus
nōn dabat, superbē respondēbat, crūdēliter imperābat.
Spartam redire nōlēbat. Colōnās, quī locus in agrō
Trōade est, sē contulerat; ibi cōnsilia cum patriae tum
sibi inimīca capiēbat. Id postquam Lacedaemoniī 4
resciērent, lēgātōs cum clāvā ad eum mīsērunt, in quā
mōre illōrum erat scrīptum: nisi domum reverterētur,
sē capitis eum damnātūrōs. Hōc nūntiō commōtus, 5
spērāns sē etiam tum pecūniā et potentiā instāns perī-
culum posse dēpellere, domum rediit. Hūc ut vēnit,
ab ephorīs in vincla pūblica est coniectus. Licet enim
lēgibus eōrum cuiūvis ephorō hōc facere rēgī. Hinc
tamen sē expēdīvit: neque eō magis carēbat sūspī-
ciōne; nam opīniō manēbat eum cum rēge habēre
societātem. Est genus quoddam hominum quod Hī- 6
lōtae vocātur, quōrum māgna multitūdō agrōs Lacedaemoniōrum
colit servōrumque mūnere fungitur. Hōs quoque sollicitāre spē libertātis exīstimābātur.
Sed quod hārum rērum nūllum erat apertum crīmen 7

3. *sua s.*: i.e., as a volunteer. — *ratione*: manner. — *cogitata*: his designs. 2. *regio*: i.e., of an Oriental king. — *qui aderant*: 'his attendants,' who were accustomed to Spartan frugality. 4. *clava*: σκυτάλη. The message, written on a strap wound spirally around a staff, became unreadable when the strap was unwound. P., holding a *scytale* of the official size, would be enabled to test the authenticity of the dispatch. 5. *legibus*: abl. — *regi*: P., though not king, was *regent*, as guardian of the young king, Plistarchus. 7. The circumstances afforded no charge that could be supported by manifest proof of guilt.

quō coarguī posset, nōn putābant dē tāli tamque clārō virō sūspiciōnibus oportēre iūdicārī, et exspectandum dum sē ipsa rēs aperiret.

- 4 Interim Argīlius quīdam adulēscēntulus, cum epistulam ab eō ad Artabazum accēpisset, eīque in sūspiciōnem vēnisset aliquid in eā dē sē esse scrīptum, quod nēmō eōrum redīisset quī eōdem missī erant, vincla epistolae laxāvit signōque detrāctō cōgnōvit,
- 2 sī pertulisset, sibi esse pereundum. Erant in eādē epistolā quae ad ea pertinēbant quae inter rēgem Pausaniāque convēnerant. Hās ille litterās ephorīs
- 3 trādīdit. Nōn est praetereunda gravitās Lacedaemoniōrum hōc locō. Nam nē hūius quidem indicio impulsī sunt ut Pausaniā comprehenderent, neque prius vim adhibendam putāvērunt quam sē ipse indicāsset.
- 4 Itaque huic indicī quid fierī vellent praecēpērunt. Fānum Neptūnī est Taenarī quod violārī nefās putant Graeci. Eō ille cōnfūgit in ārāque cōnsēdit. Hanc iūxtā locum fēcērunt sub terrā, ex quō posset exaudīrī sī quis quid loquerētur cum Argiliō.
- 5 Hūc ex ephorīs quīdam dēscendērunt. Pausaniās ut audīvit Argīlium cōnfūgissee in ārā, perturbātus vēnit eō. Quem cum supplicem deī vidēret in ārā sedentem,
- 6 quāerit causae quid sit tam repentinī cōnsilī. Huic ille quid ex litterīs comperīisset aperit. Quō magis Pausaniās perturbātus, orāre coepit nē ēnūntiāret neu sē meritum dē illō optimē prōderet; quodsi eam veniam sibi dedisset tantisque implicātum rēbus sublevāsset, māgnō eī praemiō futurum.

4. *Argilius*: of Argilus, in Macedon.—*ei . . . venisset*: cf. *utrisque v. in opinionem*, I. 7, 3 (p. 9).—*vincla*: *string.*—*signo*: *seal.* 2. *convenerant*: 'had been agreed upon.' 4. *indici*: dat. of *index*. 5. *causae*: part. gen.

His rebus ephorī cōgnitīs, satius putārunt in urbe 5
eum comprehendī. Quō cum essent profectī, et Pau-
saniās plācātō Argiliō (ut putābat) Lacedaemonem
reverterētur, in itinere, cum iam in eō esset ut com-
prehenderētur, ex voltū cūiusdam ephorī quī eum
admonērī cupiēbat, insidiās sibi fierī intellēxit. Ita- 2
que paucīs ante gradibus quam quī eum sequēbantur,
in aedem Minervae quae Chalcioicos vocātur cōnfūgit.
Hinc nē exīre posset, statim ephorī valvās ēius aedis
obstrūxērunt tēctumque sunt dēmōlitī, quō celerius
sub divō interfīret. Dicitur eō tempore mātrem Pau- 3
saniae vixisse, eamque iam māgnō nātū, postquam dē
scelere filiī comperit, in primīs ad filium claudendum
lapidem ad introitum aedis attulisse. Hīc cum sēmi- 4
animis dē templō ēlātus esset, cōnfēstim animam efflā-
vit. Sic Pausaniās māgnam bellī glōriam turpī morte
maculāvit. Cūius mortuī corpus cum eōdem nōnnūllī 5
dicerent inferrī oportēre quō eī quī ad supplicium
essent datī, displicuit plūribus, et procul ab eō locō
infōdērunt quō erat mortuos. Inde posterius, deī
Delphicī respōnsō, ērutus atque eōdem locō sepultus
est ubi vītā posuerat.

5. *satius: better.* — *in eo ut:* cf. I. 7, 3, n. (p. 9). 2. *Chalcioicos:* Χαλκίοικος, 'of the Brazen House.' P. took refuge, not in the main temple, but in a smaller building that formed part of the sacred precincts. — *sub divo:* *in the open air.* 5. *quo ei, etc.:* *i.e.,* into a chasm near Sparta. — *procul:* 'at some distance'; not very far away, is probably meant.

V.

CIMON.

- 1 Cimōn, Miltiadis filius, Athēniēnsis dūrō admodum
 initio ūsus est adulēscēntiae. Nam cum pater eius
 litem aestimātam populō solvere nōn potuisset ob
 eamque causam in vinclis publicis dēcēssisset, Cimōn
 eādē cūstodiā tenēbatur, neque lēgibus Athēniēnsium
 ēmitti poterat nisi pecūniam quā pater multātus erat
 2 solvisset. Habēbat autem in mātirimōniō sorōrem ger-
 mānam suam, nōmine Elpinicēn, nōn magis amōre quam
 mōre ductus. Namque Athēniēnsibus licet eōdem patre
 3 nātās uxōrēs dūcere. Hūius coniugī cupidus Calliās
 quīdam, nōn tam generōsus quam pecūniōsus, quī
 magnās pecūniās ex metallis fēcerat, ēgit cum Cimōne
 ut eam sibi uxōrem daret; id sī impetrāsset, sē prō
 4 illō pecūniam solūtūrum. Is cum tālem condiōnem
 āspēnarētur, Elpinicē negāvit sē pāsūrā Miltiadis
 prōgeniem in vinclis publicis intērire, quoniam pro-
 hibēre posset; sēque Calliae nūptūram, sī ea quae
 pollicērētur praestitisset.
- 2 Tālī modō cūstodiā liberātus Cimōn celeriter ad
 principātum pervēnit. Habēbat enim satis ēloquen-

CIMON, DIED B.C. 452. — 1. *litem a.*: see I. 7, 6, n. (p. 9). C. would be liable to the state for the fine, after the death of his father; but he could not be imprisoned for it, according to Attic law, even if it be true that Miltiades himself died in prison. 2. *amore quam more*: apart from the assonance, what Nepos means to say is that this alliance was not an infringement of custom due to an over-strong attachment. See *Praef.* 4. 3. *generosus*: see II. 1, 2, n. (p. 11). 4. *condicionem*: *bargain*. — *quoniam*: *when*; *quom (cum) iam*.

tiae, summam liberālitatem, māgnam prudēntiam cum iūris civilis tum rei militāris, quod cum patre ā puerō in exercitibus fuerat versātus. Itaque hīc et populum urbānum in suā tenuit potestāte et apud exercitum plūrimum valuit auctōritāte. Prīmum imperātor apud flūmen Strȳmona, māgnās cōpiās Thrācum fugāvit, oppidum Amphipolim cōstituit, eōque decem mīlia Athēniēnsium in colōniam mīsīt. Īdem iterum imperātor apud Mycalēn, Cypriōrum et Phoenīcum ducen- tārū nāvium clāssē dēvictam cēpit eōdemque diē parī fōrtūnā in terrā ūsus est. Namque hostium nāvibus captīs, statim ex clāsse cōpiās suās ēdūxit barbarōrumque māximam vim ūnō concursū prōstrāvit. Quā victōriā māgnā praedā potitus, cum domum rever- terētur, quod iam nōnnullae īnsulae propter acerbitatē imperī dēfecerant, bene animātās cōfirmāvit, aliēnātās ad officium redire cōēgit. Scȳrum, quam eō tempore Dolopēs incolēbant, quod contumācius sē gesserant vacuefecit, possessōrēs veterēs urbe īnsulā- que ēiēcīt, agrōs civibus dīvisit. Thasiōs, opulentīā frētōs, suō adventū frēgit. Hīs ex manubiis arx Athē- nārū, quā ad merīdiem vergit, est ōrnāta.

Quibus rēbus cum ūnus in civitāte māximē flōrēret, incidit in eandem invidiam quam pater suos cēterīque Athēniēnsium principēs. Nam tēstārū suffragiis decem annōrum exsiliō multātus est. Cūius facti celerius Athēniēnsēs quam ipsum paenituit. Nam

2. 1. *prudēntiam*: *scientiam*. 3. *devictam* c.: *devicit et cepit*.
 4. *defecerant*: the increasing harshness of Athenian rule led to frequent revolts on the part of members of the confederacy. For the beginnings of the Athenian Maritime Empire, see III. 3 (p. 22).
 5. *qua . . . vergit*: 'on the South slope.'

- cum ille animō fortī invidiae ingrātōrum cīvium cēs-
 sisset bellumque Lacedaemoniī Athēniēnsibus indi-
 xissent, cōnfestim nōtae eius virtūtis dēsiderium
 3 cōnsecūtum est. Itaque post annum quīntum quam
 expulsus erat, in patriam revocātus est. Ille, quod
 hospitio Lacedaemoniōrum ūtēbatur, satius exīstimāns
 Graeciae cīvitatēs dē contrōversiis inter sē iūre dis-
 ceptāre quam armis contendere, Lacedaemonem suā
 sponte est profectus pācemque inter duās potentissi-
 4 mās cīvitatēs conciliāvit. Post, neque ita multō,
 Cyprum cum ducentīs nāvibus imperātor missus,
 cum eius māiōrem partem insulae dēvīcisset, in mor-
 bum implicitus, in oppugnandō oppidō Citiō est
 mortuos.
- 4 Hunc Athēniēnsēs nōn solum in bellō sed etiam in
 pāce diū dēsiderāvērunt. Fuit enim tantā liberalitāte,
 cum complūribus locīs praedia hortōsque habēret, ut
 numquam in eis cūstōdem imposuerit fructūs servandī
 grātiā, nē quis impedirētur quō minus eis rēbus quibus
 2 quisque vellet fruerētur. Semper eum pedisequī cum
 nummīs sunt secūtī, ut, sī quis opis eius indigēret,
 habēret quod statim daret, nē differendō vidērētur
 negāre. Saepe, cum aliquem offēnsū fōrtuītō vidēret
 3 minus bene vestitum, suum amiculum dedit. Cottidiē

3. 3. quod . . . utebatur: gives a reason for Cimon undertaking the mission to Sparta. He had *hospitium* with the Lacedaemonians, in that he was their *πρόξενος* at Athens. A *proxenus* attended to the interests (in his native city) of the foreign city which he represented. — *satius*: better. — *iure*: 'by arbitration.'

4. cum . . . haberet: connected in sense with the foll. *ut* clause. Cf. the arrangement I. 6, 3 (p. 8). — *ne . . . frueretur*: 'that no person might be hindered from having the benefit of what he chose to par-take.' *quisque* disappears in the Eng. idiom. 2. *differendo*: *by post-poning* the donation.

sic cēna ei coquēbātur, ut quōs invocātōs vīdisset in forō, omnēs dēvocāret; quod facere nullō diē praetermittēbat. Nulli fidēs eius, nulli opera, nulli rēs familiāris defuit: multōs locuplētāvit; complūrēs pauperēs, quī unde efferrentur nōn reliquissent, suō sūmptū extulit. Sic sē gerendō, minimē est mīrandum sī et 4 vīta eius fuit sēcūra et mors acerba.

VI.

LYSANDER.

Lysander Lacedaemonius māgnam relīquit suī fā- 1 mam, magis fēlicitāte quam virtūte partam. Athē- 2 niēnsēs enim adversus Peloponnēsiōs bellum gerentēs sextō et vicēsīmō annō cōnfēcisse appāret, neque id quā ratiōne cōsecūtus sit latet. Nōn enim virtūte suī exercitūs sed immodestiā factum est adversāriōrum, quī, quod dictō audientēs imperātōribus suīs nōn erant, dispālātī in agrīs, relictis nāvibus, in hostium vērunt potestātem. Quō factō Athēniēnsēs sē Lace-

4. 3. sic . . . ut, etc.: 'with a view to inviting all such persons as he saw to be in need of an invitation.' — *invocatos*: *uninvited*. — *devocaret*: *de foro ad cenam*. — *unde efferrentur*: cf. III. 3, 2, n. (p. 22). 4. *secura*: *tranquil*. — *acerba*: *sc. civibus suis*.

LYSANDER, DIED B.C. 395. — 1. 1. *apparet, neque latet*: the two expressions are equivalent in meaning. It is certain that he crushed (*confecisse*) the Athenians, and there is no doubt as to the way in which he did it. 2. *sui*: emphatic. — *immodestia*: here, of the want of discipline in the Athenian fleet. — *dicto*: dat.; *dicto audiens* = *oboe-diens*. — *dispalati* . . . *navibus*: the state of things at the beginning of the Battle of Aegospotami (*Aegos flumen*, 'Goat's River'), where the Athenians were defeated by Lys., thus virtually bringing the Peloponnesian War to a close, B.C. 405. See VII. 8.

- 3 daemoniis dēdidērunt. Hāc victōriā Lysander elātus, cum antea semper factiosus audāxque fuisset, sic sibi indulisit ut eius operā in māximum odium Graeciae
- 4 Lacedaemoniī pervēnerint. Nam cum hanc causam Lacedaemoniī dictitāssent sibi esse belli, ut Athēniensium inpotentem dominātiōnem refringerent, postquam apud Aegos flūmen Lysander clāssis hostium est potitus, nihil aliud mōlitus est quam ut omnēs cīvitatēs in suā tenēret potestāte, cum id sē Lacedaemoniōrum causā facere simulāret. Namque, undique quī Athēniensium rēbus studuissent eiectis, decem dēlēgerat in ūnāquāque cīvitate quibus summum imperium potestātemque omnium rērum committeret. Hōrum in numerum nēmō admittēbātur, nisi quī aut eius hospitio continērētur, aut sē illius fore proprium fidē cōfirmārat.
- 2 Ita decemvirālī potestāte in omnibus urbibus cōstitutā, ipsius nūtū omnia gerēbantur. Cūius dē crudelitē ac perfidiā satis est ūnam rem exempli grātiā profferre, nē dē eōdem plūra enumerandō dēfatigēmus
- 2 lēctōrēs. Victor ex Asiā cum reverterētur Thasumque dēvertisset, quod ea cīvitas praecipuā fidē fuerat ergā

1. 3. **sibi indulisit**: i.e., he gave the rein to this intriguing, unscrupulous disposition. 4. **impotentem**: *immodestam*. Many of the smaller Greek states had looked forward to the new headship of Sparta as a relief from the domineering spirit of Athens. But they soon found that it was 'out of the frying-pan, into the fire.' — **cum . . . simularet**: 'while pretending.' 5. **undique . . . eiectis**: 'expelling everywhere such persons as had favored Athenian interests.' The rel. clause is the subj. of the participle. *undique* = *omnibus ex urbibus*. — **nemo, etc.**: to be appointed to one of these 'decarchies,' it was necessary to be either a friend or a 'tool' (*proprium*) of Lysander. — **fidē**: 'with an oath.'

2. **in omnibus u.**: but Athens had a triple dose of oligarchy; there, a board of Thirty was established.

Athēniēnsēs, proinde ac sī nōn eidem firmissimī solērent esse amīcī quī cōstantēs fuissent inimīcī, pervertere eam concupīvit. Vidit autem, nisi in eō 3 occultāset voluntātem, futūrum ut Thasiī dilāberentur cōsulerentque rēbus suis.

Itaque eī decemvirālem potestātem ab illō cōstitūtā sustulērunt. Quō dolōre incēsus, iniit cōsilia rēgēs Lacedaemoniōrum tollere. Sed sentiēbat id sē sine ope deōrum facere nōn posse, quod Lacedaemoniī omnia ad ōrācula referre cōsuērāt. Prīmum Delphicum corrumpere est cōnātus. Cum id nōn potuisset, Dōdōnam adortus est. Hinc quoque repulsus, 2 dīxit sē vōta suscepisse quae Iovī Hammōnī solveret, existimāns sē Āfrōs facilius corruptūrum. Hāc spē 3 cum profectus esset in Āfricā, multum eum antistitēs Iovis fefellērunt. Nam nōn solum corrumpī nōn potuērunt sed etiam lēgātōs Lacedaemonem misērunt, quī Lysandrum accūsārent quod sacerdotēs fānī corrumpere cōnātus esset. Accūsātus hōc crīmine iūdicumque absolutus sententiīs, Orchomeniīs missus subsidio, occīsus est ā Thēbānīs apud Haliartum. Quam 5

2. 2. *proinde ac si*: just as if. Nepos means that the steadfast fidelity of the Thasians to Athens ought to have been regarded by Lysander as an earnest of their probable steadiness under the new régime of Sparta. 3. *vidit, etc.*: the last part of the chapter, with the explanation of this sentence, is lost. From other sources we learn that Lysander made away with the leading members of the Athenian party in Thasos by an act of treachery and violence.

3. *reges . . . tollere*: i.e., to abolish the double monarchy. 2. Dodona was the seat of a very ancient oracle in Epirus. The oracle of Jupiter Ammon (or Hammon) was situated in an oasis of the Libyan desert. 4. Sent to assist the inhabitants of Orchomenus in Boeotia, against the Thebans, Lysander was slain in the siege of Haliartus. This expedition was the beginning of the Corinthian War (B.C. 395-387), waged against Sparta by Corinth, Thebes, Argos, and Athens.

vērē dē eō secus foret iudicātum, orātiō indiciō fuit quae post mortem in domō eius reperta est, in quā suādet Lacedaemoniis ut regiā potestāte dissolutā ex omnibus dux dēligatur ad bellum gerendum, sed sic scripta ut deūm vidērētur congruere sententiae, quam ille sē habitūrum pecūniā fidēns nōn dubitārat. Hanc eī scripsisse Cleōn Halicarnāsus dicitur.

- 4 Atque hōc locō nōn est praetereundum factum Pharnabazī satrapis regiī. Nam cum Lysander praefectus clāssis in bellō multa crudēliter avārēque fēcisset, dēque eīs rēbus sūspicārētur ad civēs suōs esse perlātum, petiit ā Pharnabazō ut ad ephorōs sibi testimōnium daret, quantā sānctitāte bellum gessisset sociōsque trāctāset, dēque eā rē accūrātē scriberet; māgnam enim eius auctōritātem in eā rē futūram.
- 2 Huic ille liberāliter pollicētur; librum grandem verbīs multīs cōscripsit, in quibus summīs eum effert laudibus. Quem cum ille lēgisset probāsetque, dum signātur, alterum parī māgnitūdine et tantā similitūdine ut discernī nōn posset, signātum subiēcit, in quō accūrātissimē eius avāritiam perfidiamque accūsārat.
- 3 Lysander domum cum redisset, postquam dē suis rēbus gestīs apud māximum magistrātum quae voluerat dixerat, testimōnī locō librum ā Pharnabazō datum trādedit. Hunc summōtō Lysandrō cum

3. 5. *secus*: i.e., differently from the court which acquitted him. — *sic scripta*, etc.: Lysander made the divine decree, which he was confident of securing, a part of the speech written for him in advance by the rhetorician Cleon of Halicarnassus. — *deūm*: *deorum*.

4. 2. *dum signatur*: while it was being sealed. — *signatum*: which had been previously sealed. 3. *maximum m.*: the Ephors. — *summoto*: mere modesty would compel Lysander to withdraw during the perusal of this portentous catalogue of his virtues.

ephorī cōgnōssent, ipsī legendum dedērunt. Ita ille imprūdēns ipse suos fuit accūsātor.

VII.

ALCIBIADES.

Alcibiadēs, Clīniae filius, Athēniēnsis. In hōc nā- 1
tūra quid efficere possit vidētur experta. Cōnstat enim
inter omnēs quī dē eō memoriae prōdidērunt, nihil
illō fuisse excellentius vel in vitiis vel in virtūtibus.
Nātus in amplissimā cīvitāte summō genere; omnium 2
aetātis suae multō fōrmōsissimus, dīves; ad omnēs rēs
aptus cōsiliūque plēnus (namque imperātor fuit sum-
mus et marī et terrā); disertus, ut in primīs dīcendō
valēret, quod tanta erat commendātiō ōris atque ōrā-
tīōnis ut nēmō eī posset resistere; cum tempus pōsce- 3
ret, labōriōsus, patiēns; līberālis, splendidus, nōn minus
in vitā quam vīctū; affābilis, blandus, temporibus calli- 4
dissimē serviēns. Idem, simulac sē remīserat neque
causa suberat quārē animī labōrem perferret, lūxuriō-
sus dissolūtus libidinōsus intemperāns reperiēbātur, ut
omnēs admīrārentur, in ūnō homine tantam esse dis-
similitūdinem tamque diversam nātūrā.

4. 3. cognoscent: legissent. — ipsi: Lysandro. — imprudens: unwittingly.

ALCIBIADES, B.C. 450-404. — 1. in hoc: cf. in his, III. 1, 2 (p. 21). — experta: sc. esse. Alcibiades, then, was not a *lusus*, but an *experimentum naturae*. — nihil exc.: more pointed than *neminem excellentiorem*. Alcibiades was the *ne plus ultra* in both directions. 3. *vita*, *victu*: public and private life. — *temporibus serviens*: 'adapting himself to circumstances.' — *simulac*, etc.: i.e., the moment he felt that he could 'take it easy.'

- 2 **Ēducātus** est in domō Pericli (prīvīgnus enim ēius fuisse dicitur), ēruditus ā Sōcrate; socerum habuit Hipponīcum, omnium Graecā linguā loquentium ditissimum, ut, sī ipse fingere vellet, neque plūra bona ēminīsci neque māiōra posset cōsequī quam vel nātūra vel fōrtūna tribuerat.
- 3 Bellō Peloponnēsio, hūius cōnsiliō atque auctōritāte, Athēniēnsēs bellum Syracūsānis indixērunt. Ad quod gerendum ipse dux dēlēctus est, duo praetereā collēgae
- 2 datī, Niciās et Lāmachus. Id cum apparārētur, prius quam clāssis exīret, accidit ut unā nocte omnēs Hermae quī in oppidō erant Athēnis dēicerentur, praeter unum quī ante iānuam erat Andocidī. Itaque ille postea
- 3 Mercurius Andocidis vocitātus est. Hōc cum apparērēt nōn sine māgnā multōrum cōnsēnsiōne esse factum, quae nōn ad prīvātā sed ad pūblicā rem pertinēret, māgnus multitudinī timor est iniectus, nē qua repentinā vīs in civitāte exsisteret quae libertātem
- 4 opprimeret populī. Hōc māximē convenire in Alcibiadem vidēbātur, quod et potentior et māior quam prīvātus existimābātur. Multōs enim liberālitate dēvinxerat, plūrēs etiam operā forēnsī suōs reddiderat.

2. **Graeca loq.**: opposed to the Orientals (*barbari*), among whom the accumulation of wealth was far greater than anywhere in Hellas. — **ut**: refers to the whole list of advantages enumerated. — **si ipse . . . vellet**: 'had he cared to conceive them out of his own fancy.' *fingere*, properly 'to mold,' then of any creative energy (*action*). — **eminisci**: *imagine*. — **consequi**: *sc. animo*.

3. 2. **id cum a.**: while preparations were being made for this. The Sicilian Expedition, B.C. 415. — **Hermæ**: were wooden or stone posts fashioned at the top to resemble the head of Hermes (Mercury). Andocides, the orator, suffered banishment for his supposed participation in the outrage of the Mutilation of the Hermæ. 3. **consensione**: *collusion*. 4. **convenire in**: 'to suit the character of.' — **privatus**: *cf. I. 8, 2 (p. 10)*.

Quā rē fiebat ut omnium oculōs, quotiēscumque in
 publicum prōdisset, ad sē converteret, neque eī pār
 quisquam in cīvitāte pōneretur. Itaque nōn solum
 spem in eō habēbant māximam sed etiam timōrem, quod
 et obesse plūrimum et prōdesse poterat. Āspergēbātur
 etiam infāmiā, quod in domō suā facere mystēria dicē-
 bātur (quod nefās erat mōre Athēniēnsium); idque
 nōn ad rēligiōnem sed ad coniūratiōnem pertinere
 existimābātur.

Hōc crimine in cōntiōne ab inimicis compellābātur.
 Sed instābat tempus ad bellum proficiscendī. Id ille
 intuēns neque ignōrāns cīvium suōrum cōnsuetūdinem,
 pōstulābat, si quid dē sē agī vellent, potius dē praesente
 quaestiō habērētur quam absēns invidiae crimine accū-
 sārētur. Inimici vērō eius, quiēscendum in praesenti,
 quia nocērī eī nōn posse intellegēbant, et illud tempus
 expectandum decrēvērunt quō clāssis exisset, ut absen-
 tem aggrederentur; itaque fēcērunt. Nam postquam
 in Siciliam eum pervēnisse crēdidērunt, absentem quod
 sacra violāset reum fēcērunt. Quā dē rē cum eī nūn-
 tius ā magistrātū in Siciliam missus esset, ut domum
 ad causam dicendam redīret, essetque in māgnā spē
 prōvinciae bene administrandae, nōn pārere nōluit, et
 in trirēmē quae ad eum erat dēportandum missa
 āscendit. Hāc Thūriōs in Italiam pervectus, multa

3. 6. *nefas*: it was of course sacrilege 'to perform mystic rites' (*facere mysteria*) in a private house. Some caricaturing of the Eleusinian Mysteries is meant, supposed at the time to be a cloak for political intrigues.

4. *contione*: the popular Assembly (*ἐκκλησία*). — *invidiae c.*: i.e., a charge preferred by *inimici*. 2. *itaque*: *et ita*. Accented *itaque*; but *itaque*, 'therefore.' 3. *reum f.*: *accusaverunt*. — *provinciae bene a.*: a purely Roman idea. Here, of success in the Sicilian campaign.

- sēcum reputāns dē immoderātā cīvium suōrum licentiā
crūdēlitāteque ergā nōbilēs, utilissimum ratus impen-
dentem ēvitāre tempestātem, clam sē ab cūstōdibus
subdūxit, et inde primum Ēlidem dein Thēbās vēnit.
- 5 Postquam autem sē capitis damnātum bonis publicā-
tīs audīvit, et (id quod nunquam antea ūsū vēnerat)
Eumolpidās sacerdotēs ā populō coāctōs ut sē dēvovē-
rent, eiusque dēvōtiōnis quō testātor esset memoria,
exemplum in pilā lapideā incisum esse positum in
- 6 publicō, Lacedaemonem dēmigrāvit. Ibi (ut ipse prae-
dicāre cōsuērat) nōn adversus patriam sed inimicōs
suos bellum gessit, quod eīdem hostēs essent cīvitatī;
nam cum intellegerent sē plūrimum prōdesse posse rei
pūb.icae, ex eā ēiēcisse plūsque irae suae quam utilitatī
- 7 commūnī pāuisse. Itaque hūius cōsiliō Lacedae-
monii cum Perse rēge amicitiam fēcērunt, dein Dece-
lēam in Atticā mūniērunt, praesidiōque ibi perpetuō
positō in obsidiōne Athēnās tenuērunt. Ēiusdem operā
Iōniam ā societāte avertērunt Athēniēnsium. Quō
factō multō superiōrēs bellō esse coepērunt.
- 5 Neque vērō hīs rēbus tam amīci Alcibiadī sunt facti
quam timōre ab eō aliēnātī. Nam cum ācerrimī virī
praestantem prūdentiam in omnibus rēbus cōgnōsce-
rent, pertimuerunt nē cāritāte patriae ductus aliquandō
ab ipsis dēscisceret et cum suis in grātiā redīret.
Itaque tempus ēius interficiundī quaerere instituērunt.
- 2 Id Alcibiadēs diūtius cēlārī nōn potuit; erat enim eā

4. 5. **Eumolpidas**: priests of the Eleusinian Demēter (*Ceres*). —
testatior: better attested. — **exemplum**: a copy. 7. **Ioniam**: Greek
cities on the coast of Asia.

5. **sunt f.** The subj. is *Lacedaemonii*. 2. **id**: acc. The constr.
in the active voice would be *id celare Alcibiadem*. — **ea**: tanta.

sagācitāte ut dēcipi nōn posset, praesertim cum animum attendisset ad cavendum. Itaque ad Tissaphernem praefectum rēgis Dārī sē contulit. Cūius cum in 3
intimam amīcitiam pervēnisset, et Athēniēnsium male gestis in Sicilia rēbus opēs senēscere, contrā Lacedaemoniōrum crēscere vidēret, initiō cum Pīsandrō praetōre, quī apud Samum exercitum habēbat, per internūntiōs colloquitur et dē reditū suō facit mentiōnem. Erat enim ille eōdem quō Alcibiadēs sēnsū, populi potentiae nōn amīcus et optimātium fautor. Ab 4
hōc dēstitūtus, primum per Thrasybūlum, Lycī filium, ab exercitū recipitur praetorque fit apud Samum; post, suffragante Thērāmene, populi scītō restituitur, parīque absēns imperiō praeficitur simul cum Thrasybūlō et Therāmene. Hōrum in imperiō tanta commū- 5
tātiō rērum facta est, ut Lacedaemoniī, quī paulō ante victōrēs viguerant, perterritī pācem peterent. Victī enim erant quīnque proeliis terrestribus, tribus nāvālibus, in quibus ducentās nāvēs trirēmēs amiserant, quae captae in hostium vēnerant potestātem. Alcibiadēs 6
simul cum collēgis recēperat Iōniam, Hellēspontum, multās praetereā urbēs Graecās quae in ōrā sitae sunt Thrāciae, quārum expūgnārant complūrēs, in hīs Byzantium; neque minus multās cōnsiliō ad amīcitiam adiūnxerant, quod in captōs clēmentia fuerant ūsi. Ita praedā onustī, locuplētātō exercitū, māximis rēbus 7
gestis Athēnās vērunt.

5. 2. **praefectum**: satrap. 3. **senescere**: 'to be waning,' we should say.—**initio**: *primo*. 4. **ab exercitu**, etc.: the Athenian army at Samos, exercising the functions of an assembly, voted the recall of Alc., and elected him general.—**suffragante**: 'on motion of.'—**praeficitur**: *sc. exercitui*. 6. **consilio**: explained by *quod*, etc. 7. The return of Alc., B.C. 407.

- 6 Hīs cum obviam ūniversa cīvitas in Piraeum dēscen-
disset, tanta fuit omnium exspectātiō vīsendi Alcibia-
dis, ut ad eius trirēmē volgus cōflueret proinde ac sī
2 sōlus advēnisset; sic enim populō erat persuāsum, et
adversās superiōrēs et praesentēs secundās rēs accidisse
eius operā. Itaque et exercitum in Siciliā āmissum et
Lacedaemoniōrum victōriās culpaē suae tribuēbant,
quod tālem virum ē cīvitate expulissent. Neque id
sine causā arbitrārī vidēbantur. Nam postquam ille
exercitū praeesse coeperat, neque terrā neque mari
hostēs parēs esse potuerant. Hīc ut ē nāvī ēgressus
3 est, quamquam Thērāmenēs et Thrasybūlus eīsdem
rēbus praefuerant simulque vēnerant in Piraeum,
tamen ūnum omnēs illum prōsequēbantur, et (id quod
nunquam antea ūsū vēnerat nisi Olympiae victōribus)
corōnis laureis taeniisque volgō dōnābātur. Ille lacri-
māns tālem benevolentiam cīvium suōrum accipiēbat,
4 reminiscēns prīstinī temporis acerbitatē. Postquam
in astu vēnit, cōtione advocātā sic verba fēcit, ut
nēmō tam ferus fuerit quān eius cāsū illacrimārit
inimicumque eīs sē ostenderit quōrum operā patriā pul-
sus fuerat, proinde ac sī alius populus, nōn ille ipse quī
5 tum flēbat, eum sacrilegī damnāset. Restitutā ergō
huic sunt publicē bona, eidemque illi Eumolpidae sacer-
dōtēs rursus resacrāre sunt coactī quī eum dēvōverant,
pilaeque illae in quibus dēvōtiō fuerat scripta in mare
praecipitatae.
- 7 Haec Alcibiadi laetitia nōn nimis fuit diuturna.
Nam cum ei omnēs essent honōrēs dēcrēti, tōtaque rēs
publica domī bellique tradita, ut ūnius arbitriō gererē-

tur, et ipse pōstulāset ut duo sibi collēgae darentur, Thrasylūlus et Adīmāntus, neque id negātum esset, clāsse in Asiam profectus, quod apud Cymēn minus ex
sententiā rem gesserat, in invidiam recidit. Nihil enim 2
eum nōn efficere posse dūcēbant. Ex quō fiēbat ut
omnia minus prōsperē gesta culpae eius tribuerent,
cum aut eum neglegenter aut malitiōsē fēcisse loqueren-
tur, sicut tum accidit; nam corruptum ā rēge capere
Cymēn nōluisse arguēbant. Itaque huic māximē putā- 3
mus malō fuisse nimiam opīniōnem ingeni atque virtū-
tis; timēbātur enim nōn minus quam dīligēbātur, nē
secundā fōrtūnā māgnisque opibus elātus tyrannidem
concupisceret. Quibus rēbus factum est ut absentī
magistrātum abrogārent et alium in eius locum sub-
stituerent. Id ille ut audīvit, domum reverti nōluit, et 4
sē Pactyēn contulit ibique tria castella commūniit,
Ornōs, Bizanthēn, Neontichos, manūque collēctā primus
Graecae cīvitātis in Thrāciam introiit, glōriōsius exīsti-
māns barbarōrum praedā locuplētārī quam Grāiōrum.
Quā ex rē crēverat cum fāmā tum opibus, mā- 5
gnamque amīcitiam sibi cum quibusdam rēgibus Thrā-
ciae pepererat.

Neque tamen ā cāritāte patriae potuit recēdere. 8
Nam cum apud Aegos flūmen Philoclēs praetor Athē-
niēnsium clāssem cōstituisset suam, neque longē abes-
set Lysander, praetor Lacedaemoniōrum, quī in eō erat
occupātus ut bellum quam diūtissimē dūceret, quod

7. 2. cum loquerentur: 'asserting.' 3. nimiam, etc.: Nepos holds that Alc. was one of those men who have suffered greatly from being overrated.—magistratum a.: 'deposed him from office.' 4. Pactyē, on the shore of the Propontis.

8. duceret: see II. 7, 1, n. (p. 16).

- ipsis pecūnia ā rēge suppeditābātur, contrā Athēniēnsibus exhaustis praeter arma et nāvēs nihil erat super,
- 2 Alcibiadēs ad exercitum vēnit Athēniēnsium, ibique praesente volgō agere coepit: — sī vellent, sē coāctūrum Lysandrum dimicāre aut pācem petere; Lacedaemoniōs eō nōlle clāsse cōnfligere, quod pedestribus
- 3 cōpiis plūs quam nāvibus valērent; sibi autem esse facile Seuthem rēgem Thrācum addūcere ut eum terrā dēpelleret; quō factō, necessariō aut clāsse cōnflictū-
- 4 rum aut bellum compositūrum. Id etsī vērē dictum Philoclēs animadvertēbat, tamen pōstulāta facere nōluit, quod sentiēbat sē Alcibiade receptō nulliūs mōmentī apud exercitum futūrum, et sī quid secundi ēvēnisset, nullam in eā rē suam partem fore, contrā ea, sī quid adversi accidisset, sē ūnum eius dēlictī futūrum reum. Ab hōc discēdēs Alcibiadēs, ‘Quoniam’
- 5 inquit ‘victōriae patriae repūgnās, illud moneō, nē iūxtā hostem castra habeās nautica; periculum est enim nē immodestiā militum vestrōrum occāsiō dētur
- 6 Lysandrō vestrī opprimendī exercitūs.’ Neque ea rēs eum fefellit. Nam Lysander cum per speculātōrēs comperisset volgum Athēniēnsium in terram praedātum exisse nāvēsque paene inānēs relictās, tempus rei gerendae nōn dīmisit eōque impetū bellum tōtū dēlevit.
- 9 At Alcibiadēs, victis Athēniēnsibus, nōn satis tūta eadem loca sibi arbitrāns, penitus in Thrāciam sē suprā Propontidem abdidit, spērāns ibi facillimē suam fōrtū-

8. erat super: *supererat*. 3. compositurum: *i.e.*, end the war by concluding terms of peace. 4. contra ea: see Praefatio, 6, n. 5. immodestia: *cf.* VI. 1, 2, n. (p. 31). 6. rei g.: *dimicandi*.

9. fortunam: *cf. pecunia* (2), *creverat opibus*, 7, 5.

nam occuli posse. Falsō. Nam Thrācēs, postquam 2
 eum cum māgnā pecūniā vēnisse sēnsērunt, insidiās fē-
 cērunt eaque quae apportārat abstulērunt, ipsum capere
 nōn potuērunt. Ille cernēns nūllum locum sibi tūtum 3
 in Graeciā propter potentiam Lacedaemoniōrum, ad
 Pharnabazum in Asiam trānsiit; quem quidem adeō
 suā cēpit hūmānitāte ut eum nēmō in amicitia antecē-
 deret. Namque ei Grȳnium dederat, in Phrygiā ca-
 strum, ex quō quīnquāgēna talenta vectigālis capiēbat.
 Quā fōrtūnā Alcibiadēs nōn erat contentus, neque 4
 Athēnās victās Lacedaemoniīs servīre poterat patī.
 Itaque ad patriam liberandam omnī ferēbātur cōgita-
 tiōne. Sed vidēbat id sine rēge Perse nōn posse fierī, 5
 ideōque eum amīcum sibi cupiēbat adiungī, neque
 dubitābat facile sē cōsecūtūrum, sī modo eius con-
 veniundī habuisset potestātem. Nam Cȳrum frātre
 ei bellum clam parāre Lacedaemoniīs adiuvantibus
 sciēbat; id sī aperuisset, māgnam sē initūrum grātiā
 vidēbat.

Hōc cum mōlirētur peteretque ā Pharnabazō ut ad 10
 rēgem mitterētur, eōdem tempore Critiās cēterique
 tyranni Athēniēnsium certōs hominēs ad Lȳsandrum
 in Asiam mīserant, quī eum certiōrem facerent, nisi
 Alcibiadem sustulisset, nihil eārum rērum fore ratum
 quās ipse Athēnīs cōstituisset; quārē, sī suās rēs
 gestās manēre vellet, illum persequerētur. Hīs Laco 2

9. 3. **cepit**: *won.* — **humanitate**: see I. 8, 4, n. (p. 10). — **in amicitia**: *i.e.*, among the friends of Pharnabazus. — **quinquagena**: 50 a year.
 5. **conveniundi**, *etc.*: 'could get a chance to confer with him.' —
Cyrum: younger brother of Artaxerxes. The issue of his attempt to
 seize the throne is related by Xenophon in the *Anabasis*. Alc. saw that
 he would earn the deep gratitude of the king by disclosing this plot.

10. 2. **Laco**: the Laconian, *i.e.*, Lysander.

rebus commōtus, statuit accurātius sibi agendum cum Pharnabazō. Huīc ergō renūntiat quae rēgi cum Lacedaemoniis convēnissent, nisi Alcibiadem vivom
 3 aut mortuom sibi trādidisset. Nōn tulit hōc satrapēs et violāre clēmentiam quam rēgis opēs minui māluit. Itaque mīsit Susamīthrēn et Bagaeum ad Alcibiadem interficiendum, cum ille esset in Phrygiā iterque ad
 4 rēgem comparāret. Missi clam vicinītātī in quā tum Alcibiadēs erat dant negotium ut eum interficiant. Illi, cum ferrō aggredi nōn audērent, noctū ligna contulērunt circā casam in quā quiēscēbat eaque succendērunt, ut incendiō cōficerent quem manū superārī
 5 posse diffidēbant. Ille autem, ut sonitū flammae est excitātus, etsi gladius eī erat subductus, familiaris suī subālāre tēlum ēripuit. Namque erat cum eō quidam ex Arcadiā hospes, quī numquam discēdere voluerat. Hunc sequi sē iubet, et id quod in praesentia vestīmētōrum fuit arripit. Hīs in ignem coniectis, flammae
 6 vim trānsiit. Quem ut barbarī incendium effūgissee vidērunt, tēlis ēminus missis interfēcērunt caputque eius ad Pharnabazum rettulērunt. At mulier quae cum eō vivere consuērat, muliebrī suā veste contēctum, aedifici incendiō mortuom crēmāvit quod ad vivum interimendum erat comparātum. Sic Alcibiadēs, annōs circiter quadrāgintā nātus, diem obiit suprēmum.

10. 2. *accuratius*: 'very decidedly.'—*quae . . . convenissent*: see 4. 7 (p. 38). Lysander threatens to break off that alliance. 3. *non tulit*: this was 'too much for him,' as we say. 4. *missi*: is the subject of *dant*.—*vicinitati*: i.e., to the people of the neighborhood. Cf. *civitas*, 6, 1 (p. 40).—*illi*: *vicini*.—*casam, etc.*: the cabin in which he was sleeping. 5. *subalare telum*: a dagger; small enough to be carried 'under the arm.'

Hunc infāmātum ā plērisque trēs gravissimī hi- 11
 storicī summīs laudibus extulērunt: Thūcŷdidēs, quī
 eiusdem aetātis fuit; Theopompus, post aliquantō
 nātus, et Tīmaeus; quī quidem duo maledicentissimī,
 nesciō quō modō in illō ūnō laudandō cōsentiunt.
 Namque ea quae suprā scripsimus dē eō praedicārent, 2
 atque hōc amplius: cum Athēnīs splendidissimā cīvi-
 tāte nātus esset, omnēs splendōre ac dignitāte superāsse
 vītāe; postquam inde expulsus Thēbās vēnerit, adeō 3
 studiīs eōrum inservisse ut nēmō eum labōre corpo-
 risque vīribus posset aequiperāre (omnēs enim Boeōtī
 magis firmitātī corporis quam ingenī acūminī inser-
 viunt); eundem apud Lacedaemoniōs, quōrum mōribus 4
 summa virtūs in patientiā pōnēbātur, sic dūritiae sē
 dedisse ut parsimoniā victūs atque cultūs omnēs Lacedaemoniōs
 vinceret; fuisse apud Thrācas, hominēs
 vīolentōs rēbusque veneriīs dēditōs: hōs quoque in
 hīs rēbus antecēsisse; vēnisse ad Persās, apud quōs 5
 summa laus esset fortiter vērārī, lūxuriōsē vīvere:
 hōrum sic imitātum cōsuētūdinem ut illi ipsī eum in
 hīs māximē admīrārentur. Quibus rēbus effēcisse 6
 ut apud quōscumque esset prīnceps pōnerētur habē-
 rēturque cārissimus. Sed satis dē hōc; reliquōs
 ordiāmur.

11. *gravissimi*: 'of high authority.'—*qui quidem duo m.*: 'the two last named, though greatly given to abuse.' 2. *hoc*: the rest of the chapter. 6. *princeps*: *primus*.—*ordiamur*: see II. 1, 1, n. (p. 11).

VIII.

THRASYBULUS.

- 1 Thrasybŭlus, Lyci filius, Athēniēnsis. Sī per sē virtūs sine fōrtūnā ponderanda est, dubitō an hunc primum omnium pōnam. Illud sine dubiō: nēminem huic praeferō fidē, cōstantiā, māgnitūdine animi, in
 2 patriam amōre. Nam quod multī voluērunt paucīque potuērunt, ab ūnō tyrannō patriam liberāre, huic contigit ut ā trīgintā oppressam tyrannis ē servitūte
 3 in libertātem vindicāret. Sed nesciō quō modō, cum eum nēmō anteiret hīs virtūtibus, multī nōbilitate praecucurrērunt. Primum Peloponnēsiō bellō, multa hīc sine Alcibiade gessit, ille nullam rem sine hōc; quae ille ūniversa nātūrālī quōdam bonō fēcit lucrī.
 4 Sed illa tamen omnia commūnia imperātōribus cum militibus et fōrtūnā, quod in proeli concursū abit rēs ā cōsiliō ad vicēs rērum virtutemque pūgnantium. Itaque iure suō, nōnnūlla ab imperātōre miles, plūrima

THRASYBULUS, DIED B.C. 389.—1. *an*: 'I question whether I would not,' is the Eng. idiom. 2. *trīginta*: the antithesis with *uno* is misleading. The *Thirty* at Athens constituted an oligarchy, and were not *ρόπαροι*, the *tyrannis* being a form of monarchy. 3. *nobilitate*: *celebrity*.—*naturali quodam b.*: Alcibiades was born with a sort of happy faculty of appropriating (turning to his own account, *lucri facere*) the achievements of his colleagues. See VII. 6, 3 (p. 40). 4. *sed* . . . *tamen*: *however*.—*communia*: *sc. sunt*. The writer is led to reflect that the credit for military success in general, such as attended Thr. and Alc. during the period of the Peloponnesian War, is due largely to the army and to luck, and only in a small degree to the commander. But the splendid deed of Thrasybulus in liberating Athens belonged to him alone.—*abit res, etc.*: 'the decision is transferred from the sphere of judgment to the chances of the field.'

vērō fōrtūna vindicat, sēque hīs plūs valuisse vērē
 potest praedicāre. Vērū illud māgnificentissimū 5
 factum propriū est Thrasybūli. Nam cum trīgintā
 tyrannī, praepositī ā Lacedaemoniīs, servitūte oppres-
 sās tenērent Athēnās; plūrimōs civēs, quibus in bellō
 parserat fōrtūna, partim patriā expulissent partim
 interfēcissent; plūrimōrum bona publicāta inter sē
 dīvisissent; nōn solum prīnceps, sed etiam sōlus initio,
 bellum eis iudixit.

Hic enim cum Phylēn cōfūgisset (quod est castel- 2
 lum in Atticā mūnitissimū), nōn plūs habuit sēcum
 trīgintā dē suis. Hōc initium fuit salūtis Atticōrum,
 hōc rōbur libertātis clārissimae civitātis. Neque vērō 2
 hic nōn contemptus est primō ā tyrannīs atque eius
 sōlitūdō. Quae quidem rēs et contemnentibus perni-
 ciēi et dēspectō salūtī fuit; haec enim illōs sēgnēs ad
 persequendum, hōs autem tempore ad comparandum
 datō fēcit rōbustiōrēs. Quō magis praeceptum illud 3
 omnium in animīs esse dēbet, nihil in bellō oportēre
 contemnī; neque sine causā dicitur mātrem timidī flēre
 nōn solēre. Neque tamen prō opīniōne Thrasybūli 4
 auctae sunt opēs; nam iam tum illis temporibus fortius
 bonī prō libertāte loquēbantur quam pūgnābant. Hinc
 in Pīraeum trānsiit Mūnychiamque mūnīvit. Hanc 5
 bis tyrannī oppūgnāre sunt adortī, ab eāque turpiter
 repulsī prōtinus in urbem armīs impedimentisque

1. 4. **his**: i.e., than soldier or commander. 5. **parserat**: *pepercerat*.

2. Phyle, on the road to Athens from Thebes, where Thr. and other democratic exiles had been harbored. 2. **hic**: adv. 3. **timidi**: here in a good sense. The original proverb, *δειλὸς μήτηρ οὐ κλαίει*, means, 'The coward's mother weeps not,'—because she knows, 'The man who fights and runs away Will live to fight another day.' 4. In fact, Thr. had upwards of 1000 followers on the march to Piraeus.

- 6 *amissis* refugerunt. *Ūsus* est Thrasybūlus nōn minus
prudentiā quam fortitudine. Nam cedentēs violārī
vetuit (cīvēs enim cīvibus parcere aequom cēnsēbat),
neque quisquam est volnerātus nisi quī prior impū-
gnāre voluit. Nēminem iacentem veste spoliāvit, nīl
attigit nisi arma (quōrum indigēbat) quaeque ad victum
7 pertinēbant. In secundō proeliō cecidit Critiās, dux
tyrannōrum, cum quidem exadversus Thrasybūlum
fortissimē pugnāret.
- 8 Hōc dēiectō, Pausaniās vēnit Atticīs auxiliō, rēx
Lacedaemoniōrum. Is inter Thrasybūlum et eōs quī
urbem tenēbant fēcīt pācem, hīs condiціōnibus: nē quī,
praeter trīgintā tyrannōs et decem quī postea prae-
tōrēs creatī superiōris mōre crudelitātis erant ūsī, affice-
rentur exsiliō nēve bona publicārentur; reī publicae
2 prōcūratiō populō redderētur. Praeclārum hōc quoque
Thrasybūlī, quod reconciliātā pāce, cum plūrimum in
cīvitāte posset, lēgem tulit nē quis ante actārum rērum
accūsārētur nēve multārētur; eamque illī obliviōnis
3 appellārent. Neque vērō hanc tantum ferendam cūrā-

2. 6. *cedentes*: while retreating. — *iacentem*: slain. 7. *quidem*: emphasizing one point in the tyrant's favor; 'fighting bravely, to be sure.'

3. *Pausanias*: the interference of the Spartan king as a peacemaker, in behalf of the democratic party at Athens, was due to his jealousy of Lysander, who supported the Thirty. — *eos qui urbem t.*: i.e., the citizens of oligarchical sentiments. The Thirty themselves were now at Eleusis; the patriots, with Thr. in the Piraeus. — *decem, etc.*: a board of Ten, established to succeed the Thirty. They were not *σπαρτηγῶν*, although Nepos calls them *praetores*. They repeated the atrocities of their predecessors (*superioris crudelitatis*). 2. *posset*: *valeret*. — *ante actarum r.*: 'for anything in the past.' — *illi*: the Athenians of the time. — *oblivionis*: sc. *legem*: *ἀμνηστίας*. 'Forgive and forget.' Nepos is quite right in saying that the Amnesty was one of the glories (*praeclarum hoc*) of Thrasybulus. 3. *ferendam*: cf. *tulit*, above. *legem ferre*, 'to enact a law,' through the votes of the Assembly.

vit, sed etiam ut valeret effecit. Nam cum quidam ex eis qui simul cum eo in exsilio fuerant eadem facere eorum vellent cum quibus in gratiam reditum erat publice, prohibuit et id quod pollicitus erat praestitit.

Huic pro tantis meritis, honore causa, corona a 4
populo data est, facta duabus virgulis oleaginis. Quam quod amor civium et non vis expresserat, nullam habuit invidiam magnaque fuit gloria. Bene ergo Pittacus 2
ille, qui in septem sapientum numero est habitus, cum Mytilenaei multa milia iugerum agri ei muneri darent: 'Nolite, oro vos' inquit, 'id mihi dare quod multi invidiant, plures etiam concupiscant. Quare ex istis nolo amplius quam centum iugera, quae et meam animi aequitatem et vestram voluntatem indicent.' Nam parva munera diutina, locupletia non propria esse consueverunt. Illa igitur coronam contentus Thrasybulus, 3
neque amplius requisivit neque quemquam honore se antecessisse existimavit. Hic, sequenti tempore, cum 4
praetor classem ad Ciliciam appulisset neque satis diligenter in castris eius agerentur vigiliae, a barbaris, ex oppido noctu eruptione facta, in tabernaculo interfectus est.

3. 3. *ut valeret*: 'its observance.' — *cum quibus . . . publice*: 'who had been publicly pardoned.'

4. *expresserat*: *wrung* from them, not by force, but by affection.
2. Pittacus, one of the Seven Sages, of Mitylene in the island of Lesbos, about B.C. 600. — *darent*: *offered*. — *non propria*: 'insecure.'

IX.

CONON.

- 1 Conon Athēniēnsis Peloponnēsiō bellō accēssit ad rem pūblicam in eōque eius opera magnī fuit. Nam et praetor pedestribus exercitibus praefuit et praefectus clāssis māgnās marī rēs gessit. Quās ob causās praecipuos eī honōs habitus est. Namque omnibus ūnus insulis praefuit; in quā potestāte Pherās cēpit, colōniam Lacedaemoniōrum. Fuit etiam extremō Peloponnēsiō bellō praetor cum apud Aegos flūmen cōpiae Athēniēnsium ab Lysandrō sunt dēvictae. Sed tum abfuit eōque pēius rēs administrāta est;
- 2 nam et prūdēns rei militāris et diligēns erat imperātor. Itaque nēminī erat eis temporibus dubium, si affuisset, illam Athēniēnsēs calamitātem acceptūrōs nōn fuisse.
- 2 Rēbus autem afflictis, cum patriam obsidērī audisset, nōn quaesivit ubi ipse tūtō viveret, sed unde praesidiō posset esse cīvibus suis. Itaque contulit sē ad Pharnabazum, satrapem Iōniae et Lȳdiae, eundemque generum rēgis et propinquom; apud quem ut multum grātiā valēret, multō labōre multisque effēcit periculis.
- 2 Nam cum Lacedaemoniī, Athēniēnsibus dēvictis, in societāte nōn manērent quam cum Artaxerxe fēcērant,

CONON, DIED B.C. 390. — 1. *potestate: imperio.* 3. *accepturos non f.:* what people said was, *non accepissent.* The truth is that Conon was there, but took his eight ships speedily away from the action.

2. 1. *obsideri:* the siege of Athens by Lysander, immediately after Aegospotami.

Agēsilāumque bellātum misissent in Asiam, m̄ximē
 impulsī ā Tissapherne, quī ex intimīs rēgis ab amicitia
 eius dēfēcerat et cum Lacedaemoniīs coīerat societā-
 tem, hunc adversus Pharnabazus habitus est imperā-
 tor, rē quidem vērā exercituī praefuit Conōn, eiusque
 omnia arbitriō gesta sunt. Hīc multum ducem sum- 3
 mum Agēsilāum impedivī saepeque eius cōsiliīs
 obstitit; neque vērō nōn fuit apertum, sī ille nōn fuis-
 set, Agēsilāum Asiam Taurō tenus rēgi fuisse ēreptū-
 rum. Quī posteaquam domum ā suis civibus revocātus 4
 est, quod Boeōtī et Athēniēnsēs Lacedaemoniīs bellum
 indixerant, Conōn nihilō sētius apud praefectōs rēgis
 versābātur eisque omnibus m̄gnō erat ūsul.

Dēfēcerat ā rēge Tissaphernēs, neque id tam Artaxerxī
 quā cēteris erat apertum; multīs enim m̄-
 gnisque meritīs apud rēgem, etiam cum in officiō nōn
 manēret, valēbat. Neque id erat mīrandum, sī nōn
 facile ad crēdendum addūcēbātur, reminiscēns eius sē
 operā Cŷrum frātrem superāsse. Hūius accūsandī 2
 grātiā Conōn ā Pharnabazō ad rēgem missus, postea-
 quam vēnit, primum ex mōre Persārum ad chiliarchum,
 quī secundum gradum imperī tenēbat, Tithraustēn
 accēssit, sēque ostendit cum rēge colloquī velle. Huīc 3
 ille, 'Nulla' inquit 'mora est; sed tū dēliberā utrum
 colloquī mālīs an per litterās agere quae cōgitās. Ne-
 cesse est enim, sī in cōspectum vēneris, venerārī tē
 rēgem. Nēmō enim sine hōc admittitur. Hōc sī tibi

2. 2. *ex intimis*: 'after being one of the most trusted counsellors.'
 3. *neque non*: cf. VIII. 2, 2. (p. 47).—*si ille, etc.*: 'had it not been
 for Conon.'—*Tauro*: the mt. range.—*fuisse e.*: cf. 1, 3, end.

3. 2. Chiliarch, *χιλάρχος*, 'commander of a thousand.' 3. *nulla
 mora*: 'nothing to hinder.'—*venerari*: of the profound obeisance
 (*adoratio*) paid to Oriental potentates.

- grave est, per mē nihilō sētius ēditīs mandātīs cōnfi-
 4 ciēs quod studēs.' Tum Conōn, 'Mihi vērō' inquit,
 'nōn est grave quemvis honōrem habēre rēgī; sed
 vereor nē civitātī meae sit opprobriō, sī cum ex eā sim
 profectus quae cēterīs gentibus imperāre cōsuērit,
 potius barbarōrum quam illius mōre fungar.' Itaque
 huic quae volēbat scripta trādidit.
- 4 Quibus cōgnitīs, rēx tantum auctōritāte eius mōtus
 est, ut et Tissaphernem hostem iūdicārit, et Lacedae-
 moniōs bellō persequi iūsserit, et ei permiserit quem
 vellet eligere ad dispēnsandam pecūniam. Id arbi-
 trium Conōn negāvit suū esse cōnsili sed ipsius, qui
 optimē suōs nōsse dēberet; sed sē suādēre, Pharnabazō
 2 id negōtī daret. Hinc māgnīs mūneribus dōnātus ad
 mare est missus, ut Cyprīis et Phoenīcibus cēterisque
 maritimīs civitātibus nāvēs longās imperāret, clās-
 semque quā proximā aestāte mare tuērī posset com-
 parāret, datō adiūtōre Pharnabazō, sicut ipse voluerat.
- 3 Id ut Lacedaemoniīs est nūntiātum, nōn sine cūrā rem
 administrant, quod māius bellum imminēre arbitrāban-
 tur quam sī cum barbarō solum contenderent. Nam
 ducem fortem et prūdentem rēgiīs opibus praefutūrum
 ac sēcum dimicātūrum vidēbant, quem neque cōnsiliō
 4 neque cōpiīs superāre possent. Hāc mente māgnam
 contrahunt clāssem; proficiscuntur Pīsandrō duce.
 Hōs Conōn apud Cnidum adortus, māgnō proeliō fugat,
 multās nāvēs capit, complūrēs deprimit. Quā victoriā

3. 2. *grave*: 'disagreeable.'—*editis mandatis*: 'if you will make known your errand.'

4. *id . . . consili*: 'Conon said it was not his business to make this choice.'—*ipsius: regis*. 2. *hinc*: from the Persian court at Susa.—*imperaret*: 'order them to furnish.' 4. *deprimit: sinks*. The battle of Cnidus, B.C. 394.

nōn solum Athēnae sed etiam cūncta Graecia quae sub Lacedaemoniōrum fuerat imperiō liberāta est. Conōn cum parte nāvium in patriam venit, mūrōs dīru- 5
tōs ā Lysandrō utrōsque, et Pīraei et Athēnārum, reficiendōs cūrat, pecūniaeque quīnquāgintā talenta quae ā Pharnabazō accēperat cīvibus suis dōnat.

Accidit huīc quod cēteris mortālibus, ut incōnsiderā- 5
tior in secundā quam in adversā esset fōrtūnā. Nam clāsse Peloponnēsiōrum dēvictā, cum ultum sē iniūriās patriae putāret, plūra concupīvit quam efficere potuit. Neque tamen ea nōn pia et probanda fuērunt, 2
quod potius patriae opēs augērī quam rēgis māluit. Nam cum māgnam auctōritātem sibi pūgnā illā nāvālī, quam apud Cnidum fēcerat, cōstituisset, nōn solum inter barbarōs sed etiam omnēs Graeciae cīvitatēs, clam dare operam coepit ut Iōniam et Aeoliam restitueret Athēniēnsibus. Id cum minus diligenter esset 3
celātum, Tīribazus quī Sardibus praeerat Conōnem ēvocāvit, simulāns ad rēgem eum sē mittere velle māgnā dē rē. Hūius nūntiō pārēns cum vēnisset, in vincla coniectus est, in quibus aliquamdiū fuit. Inde 4
nōnnūllī eum ad rēgem abdūctum ibique perīsse scriptum relīquērunt. Contrā ea, Dīnōn historicus, cui nōs plūrimum dē Persicis rēbus crēdimus, effūgisce scripsit; illud addubitat, utrum Tīribazō sciente an imprudente sit factum.

4. 5. *reficiendos c.*: 'has them rebuilt.' Cf. *ferendam curavit*, VIII. 3, 3 (p. 48).

5. 2. *non pia et p.*: 'ungrateful or reprehensible.' It might be objected that Conon owed something to the king who had treated him so well. 4. *scriptum r.*: *memoriae prodiderunt.*—*addubitat*: *is inclined to doubt.*—*imprudente*: cf. VI. 4, 3 (p. 35).

X.

DION.

- 1 Diōn, Hipparīnī filius, Syracūsānus, nōbili genere nātus, utrāque implicātus tyrannide Dionȳsiōrum. Namque ille superior Aristomachēn, sorōrem Diōnis, habuit in mātirimōniō, ex quā duōs filiōs, Hipparīnum et Nisaeum, prōcreāvit, totidemque filiās, nōmine Sōphrosynēn et Aretēn; quārum priōrem Dionȳsiō filiō, eidem cui rēgnum reliquit, nūptum dedit, alteram Aretēn Diōnī. Diōn autem praeter generōsam propinquitatem nōbilemque māiōrum fāmam multa alia ab nātūrā habuit bona, in eīs ingenium docile, cōme, aptum ad artēs optimās, māgnam corporis dīgnitatem (quae nōn minimum commendat), māgnās praetereā dīvitias ā patre relictās, quās ipse tyrannī mūneribus auxit.
- 2 Erat intimus Dionȳsiō priōrī, neque minus propter mōrēs quam affinitātem. Namque etsī Dionȳsi crūdēlitās ei displicēbat, tamen salvom propter necessitudinem, magis etiam suōrum causā studēbat. Aderat in māgnīs rēbus eiusque cōnsiliō multum movēbātur tyrannus, nisi quā in rē māior ipsius cupiditās inter-
- 3 cēsserat. Lēgatiōnēs vērō omnēs quae essent illūstriōrēs per Diōnem administrābantur; quās quidem ille diligenter obeundō, fidēliter administrandō, crūdē-

DION, B.C. 408-353. — 1. *utraq̃ue tyrannide D.*: *tyrannide utriusque Dionysi*. — *superior*: *prior*. Dionysius the Elder, tyrant of Syracuse, B.C. 406-367. 2. *generosam p.*: 'high-born connections.' — *artes*: *accomplishments*. 3. *salvom*: *sc. esse eum*. — *magis etiam*: *still more*. The alliance with Dionysius involved blood-relations of Dion (*suorum*). — *intercesserat*: 'already stood in the way.'

lissimum nōmen tyrannī suā hūmānitāte lēniēbat. Hunc ā Dionȳsiō missum Carthāginiēnsēs sic sūspexē- 5
runt, ut nēminem umquam Graecā linguā loquentem
magis sint admirātī.

Neque vērō haec Dionȳsium fugiēbant; nam quantō 2
esset sibi ōrnāmentō sentiēbat. Quō fiēbat ut ūnī huic
māximē indulgēret neque eum secus diligeret ac filium;
quī quidem, cum Platōnem Tarentum vēnisse fāma in 2
Siciliam esset perlāta, adulēscētī negāre nōn potuerit
quā eum arcesseret, cum Diōn eius audiendī cupidi-
tāte flagrāret. Dedit ergō huic veniam māgnāque eum
ambitiōne Syracūsās perdūxit. Quem Diōn adeō admī- 3
rātus est atque adamāvit ut sē ei tōtum trāderet.
Neque vērō minus ipse Platō dēlectātus est Diōne.
Itaque cum ā tyrannō crūdēlīter violātus esset, quippe
quī eum vēnumdarī iūssisset, tamen eōdem rediit, eius-
dem Diōnis precibus adductus. Interim in morbum 4
incidit Dionȳsius. Quō cum gravius cōnflīctārētur,
quaesivī ā medicīs Diōn quem ad modum sē habēret,
simulque ab eis petiit, sī forte in māiōre esset periculō,
ut sibi fatērentur; nam velle sē cum eō colloquī dē
partiendō rēgnō, quod sorōris suae filiōs ex illō nātōs
partem rēgnī putābat dēbēre habēre. Id medicī nōn 5
tacuērunt et ad Dionȳsium filium sermōnem rettulē-
runt. Quō ille commōtus, nē agendī esset Diōnī po-

1. 4. **nomen**: *i.e.*, the reputation of Dionysius as despot. 5. **suspexerunt**: *looked up to*.

2. 2. **qui quidem**: 'for example he.' — **adulescenti**: Dion was 21 years of age when Plato visited Italy in B.C. 387. — **ambitione**: 'ceremony.' 3. **violatus**: the story was that Plato was actually sold as a slave, and had to be redeemed by his friends. — **rediit**: the philosopher's second visit to Syracuse was immediately after the death of Dionysius I. Later, he was there for a third time.

testās, patrī sopōrem medicōs dare coēgit. Hōc aeger sūmptō, sōpitus diem obiit suprēmum.

- 8 Tāle initium fuit Diōnis et Dionysī simultātis eaque multīs rēbus aucta est. Sed tamen prīmīs temporibus aliquamdiū simulāta inter eōs amīcītia mānsit. Sicut cum Diōn nōn dēsisteret obsecrāre Dionysium ut Platōnem Athēnīs arcesseret et eius cōsiliīs ūterētur, ille, quī in aliquā rē vellet patrem imitārī, mōrem ei
- 2 gessit. Eōdemque tempore Philistum historicum Syracūsās redūxit, hominem amicum nōn magis tyrannō quam tyrannidī. Sed dē hōc in eō librō plūra sunt exposita quī dē historicīs Graecīs cōnscriptus est.
- 3 Platō autem tantum apud Dionysium auctōritāte potuit valuitque ēloquentiā, ut ei persuāserit tyrannidis facere finem libertātemque reddere Syracūsānis; ā quā voluntāte Philistī cōnsiliō dēterritus, aliquantō crudēlior esse coepit.
- 4 Quī quidem cum ā Diōne sē superārī vidēret ingeniō, auctōritāte, amōre populī, verēns nē sī eum sēcum haberet, aliquam occāsionem suī daret opprimendī, nāvem ei trirērem dedit quā Corinthum dēveherētur, ostendēns sē id utrīusque facere causā, nē cum inter sē
- 2 timērent, alteruter alterum praeoccupāret. Id cum factum multī indignārentur māgnaeque esset invidiae tyrannō, Dionysius omnia quae movērī poterant Diōnis in nāvēs imposuit ad eumque mīsīt. Sic enim existi-

2. 5. *soporem*: a sleeping-potion. — *sopitus*: 'sinking into a lethargy.'

3. *sicut*: 'as for instance.' — *morem*, etc.: see II. 7, 3, n. (p. 16).

2. *reduxit*: he had been banished by Dionysius I. — *de hist. G.*: title of one of the books of Nepos' comprehensive work, *De Viris Illustribus*.

4. *qui quidem*: cf. 2, 2, n. — *ostendens*: 'giving out.' — *inter se*: each other. — *praeoccuparet*: 'take advantage of.'

māri volēbat, id sē nōn odiō hominis sed suae salūtis
fēcisse causā. Postea vērō quam audivit eum in Pelo- 3
ponnēsō manum comparāre sibique bellum facere
cōnārī, Aretēn, Diōnis uxōrem, aliī nūptum dedit,
filiumque eius sic educārī iūssit ut indulgendō turpis-
simīs imbuerētur cupiditatibus. Nam puer vinō epu- 4
lisque obruēbātur neque ūllum tempus sōbriō relin-
quēbātur. Is ūsque eō vitae statum commūtātum ferre 5
nōn potuit, postquam in patriam rediit pater (namque
appositī erant cūstōdēs quī eum ā pristinō victū dēdū-
cerent), ut sē dē superiōre parte aedium dēiēcet atque
ita interierit. Sed illūc revertor.

Postquam Corinthum pervēnit Diōn, et eōdem per- 5
fūgit Hēraclidēs ab eōdem expulsus Dionysios (quī
praefectus fuerat equitum), omni ratiōne bellum com-
parāre coepērunt. Sed nōn multum proficiēbant, quod 2
multōrum annōrum tyrannis māgnārum opum putā-
bātur; quam ob causam paucī ad societātem periculī
perducēbantur. Sed Diōn, frētus nōn tam suis cōpiis 3
quam odiō tyranni, māximō animō, duābus onerāiis
nāvibus, quinquāgintā annōrum imperium, mūnītum
quīngentis longis nāvibus, decem equitum centumque
peditum milibus, profectus oppugnātum (quod omni-
bus gentibus admirābile est vīsum), adeō facile perculit
ut post diem tertium quam Siciliam attigerat Syracūsās
introierit. Ex quō intellegī potest, nullum esse impe-

4. 4. *sobrio*: pred.; *ut sobrius esset*. 5. *usque eo*, etc.: 'found the change so intolerable,' — when his father returned, and undertook to reform his habits (*revocare ad virtutem*).

5. 2. *multorum* . . . *magnarum*: the despotism was felt to be strong in proportion to its long standing. It was now nearly 50 years since the elder Dionysius seized the power. 3. *imperium*: obj. of the supine *oppugnatum*. — *omnibus gentibus*: 'to the world.'

- 4 rium tātum nisi benevolentia munitum. Eō tempore
 aberat Dionysius et in Italiā classem opperiebatur
 adversariōrum, ratus nēminem sine magnis copiis ad
 5 sē venturum; quae res eum fefellit. Nam Dion eis
 ipsīs quī sub adversari fuerant potestate regiōs spī-
 ritūs repressit, tōtiusque eius partis Siciliae potitus est
 quae sub Dionysi fuerat potestate, parique modō urbis
 Syracūsarum praeter arcem et insulam adiunctam
 6 oppidō; eoque rem perdūxit ut tālibus pactionibus
 pacem tyrannus facere vellet: Siciliam Dion obtineret,
 Italiā Dionysius, Syracūsas Apollocratēs, cui māxi-
 mam fidem unī habebat Dionysius.
- 6 Hās tam prōsperās tamque inopinātās res cōsecūta
 est subita commūtatiō, quod Fōrtūna, suā mōbilitate,
 2 quem paulō ante extulerat dēmergere est adorta. Pri-
 mum in filiō, dē quō commemorāvi suprā, suam vim
 exercuit. Nam cum uxōrem redūxisset quae aliī fuerat
 trādita, filiumque vellet revocāre ad virtutem ā perditā
 lūxuriā, accēpit gravissimum parēns volnus morte fili.
- 3 Deinde orta dissēnsiō est inter eum et Hēraclīdem; quī,
 quod ei principātum nōn concēdebat, factionem compa-
 rāvit. Neque is minus valēbat apud optimātēs, quō-
 rum cōsēnsū praeerat clāssi, cum Dion exercitum
 4 pedestrem teneret. Nōn tulit hōc animō aequō Dion,
 et versum illum Homēri rettulit ex secundā rhapsodiā,

5. 3. *benevolentia*: *amore ponuli*. 5. *eis ipsis*: 'by means of those very forces (*men*).'
 — *regios* s.: 'the despot's pride.' The Roman counterpart of *τύραννος* is *rex*. Cf. *regnum*, 1, 1. — *arcem et insulam*: the acropolis built by Dionysius I. joined the islet of Ortygia to the main city. 6. *uni*: cf. I. 1, 1, n. (p. 3).

6. *sua* m.: 'with characteristic fickleness.'
 — *quem*: *eum quem*. 2. *in*: 'in the case of.'
 — *suam* v.: *her power*. — *parens*: *as father*. 3. *principatum*: see III. 1, 1, n. (p. 20).
 — *factionem* c.: 'formed a party,' to oppose Dion. 4. *rhapsodia*: *book*; i.e., of the Iliad. Verse 204.

in quō haec sententia est: nōn posse bene gerī rem publicam multōrum imperiis. Quod dictum māgna invidia cōsecūta est; namque aperuisse vidēbātur omnia in suā potestāte esse velle. Hanc ille nōn lēnīre obsequiō sed acerbītate opprimere studuit, Hēraclidemque, cum Syracūsās vēnisset, interficiundum cūrāvit.

Quod factum omnibus māximum timōrem iniēcit; nēmō enim illō interfectō sē tūtum putābat. Ille autem, adversāriō remōtō, licentius eōrum bona quōs sciēbat adversus sē sēnsisse militibus dispertivit. Quibus dīvīsīs, cum cottīdiānī māximī fierent sūmptūs, celeriter pecūnia dēsse coepit, neque quō manūs porrigeret suppetēbat, nisi in amīcōrum possēssiōnēs. Id ēius modī erat, ut cum militēs reconciliāasset amitteret optimātēs. Quārum rērum cūrā frangēbātur et insuetus male audiendī nōn animō aequō ferēbat, dē sē ab eis male existimārī quōrum paulō ante in caelum fuerat elātus laudibus. Volgus autem, offēnsā in eum militum voluntāte, liberius loquēbātur et tyrannum nōn ferendum dictitābat.

Haec ille intuēns, cum quem ad modum sēdāret nescīret et quōrsum evāderent timēret, Callicratēs quīdam, cīvis Athēniēnsis, quī simul cum eō ex Peloponnēsō in Siciliam vēnerat, homō et callidus et ad

6. 5. hanc . . . obsequio: 'to mitigate this unpopularity by a conciliatory spirit.'

7. eorum quos, etc.: i.e., of his political opponents, belonging to Heraclides' faction. The next step was to plunder his friends. 2. quo . . . porrigeret: subj. of *suppetebat*; 'there was nothing to lay hands on next except, etc.'—id: 'this course of action.'—*reconciliasset*: Dion had apparently alienated the soldiery by the death of Heraclides. 3. offensa . . . voluntate: 'the feelings of the army once estranged.'

- fraudem acūtus, sine ullā religiōe ac fidē, adiit ad
 2 Diōnem et ait: eum māgnō in periculō esse propter
 offēsiōnem populi et odium militum, quod nullō modō
 ēvitāre posset nisi alicuī suōrum negōtium daret, quī
 sē simulāret illi inimicū; quem si invēnisset idōneum,
 facile omnium animōs cōgnitūrum adversāriōsque sub-
 lātūrum, quod inimicī eius idem sentienti suōs sēnsūs
 3 apertūri forent. Tali cōsiliō probātō excēpit hās
 partēs ipse Callicratēs et sē armat imprudentiā Diōnis.
 Ad eum interficiundum sociōs conquirit, adversāriōs
 4 eius convenit, coniūrātiōne cōfirmat. Rēs multīs cōn-
 sciīs quae agerētur, elāta dēfertur ad Aristomachēn,
 sorōrem Diōnis, uxōremque Aretēn. Illae timōre per-
 territae conveniunt cuius dē periculō timēbant. At
 ille negat ā Callicrate fieri sibi insidiās, sed illa quae
 5 agerentur fieri praeceptō suō. Mulierēs nihilō sētius
 Callicratem in aedem Proserpinae dēducunt ac iūrāre
 cōgunt nihil ab illō periculi fore Diōni. Ille hāc reli-
 giōne nōn modo nōn est dēterritus, sed ad mātūrāndum
 concitātus est, verēns nē prius cōsiliūm aperirētur
 suū quam cōnāta perfēcisset.
 9 Hāc mente, proximō diē fēstō, cum ā conventū sē
 remōtum Diōn domi tenēret atque in conclāvi editō
 recubisset, cōnsciīs facinoris loca mūntiōra oppidi
 trādit, domum cūstōdiīs saepit, ā foribus quī nōn dis-

8. 2. *quod*: *periculum*. — *quem si*: *si quem*. But the pron. is so placed as to be rel. as well as indef. — *idem s.*: 'to one of like views with themselves,' as the spy would pretend to be. 3. *has partes*: *this rôle*. — *armat*: metaphorical. His best weapon was Dion's blindness. 4. *res*, etc.: 'since many were in the secret of what was going on, it was let out, and came to the ears of Arete, etc.' — *cuius*: *eum cuius*.

9. *conventu*: the throng of the festival. — *edito*: *i.e.*, in the upper part of the house. — *domum*: *Dionis*. — *qui non discedant*: their orders were to this effect.

cēdant certōs praeficit, nāvem trirēmēm armātīs ōrnat,
 Philostrateque, frātrī suō, trādit eamque in portū agi- 2
 tāre iubet, ut sī exercēre rēmigēs vellet, cōgitāns, sī
 forte cōsiliīs obstitisset fōrtūna, ut habēret quā aufu-
 geret ad salūtem. Suōrum autem ē numerō Zacynthiōs 3
 adulēscētēs quōsdam ēligit, cum audācissimōs tum
 vīribus māximīs, hīsque dat negōtium ad Diōnem eant
 inermēs, sic ut conveniundī ēius grātiā vidērentur
 venīre. Hī propter nōtitiam sunt intrōmissī. At illī, 4
 ut limen intrārant, foribus obserātīs in lēctō cubantem
 invādunt, colligant; fit strepitus, adeō ut exaudīrī pos-
 set forīs. Hic, sicut ante saepe dictum est, quam invīsa 5
 sit singulāris potentia et miseranda vīta quī sē metui
 quam amārī mālunt, cuius facile intellēctū fuit.
 Namque illī ipsī cūstōdēs, sī prōmptā fuissent volun- 6
 tāte, foribus effrāctīs servāre eum potuissent, quoad
 illī inermēs tēlum forīs flāgitantēs vīvom tenēbant.
 Cui cum succurreret nēmō, Lycō quīdam Syracūsānus
 per fenestram gladium dedit, quō Diōn interfectus est.

Cōfectā caede, cum multitudō vīsēdī grātiā in- 10
 troisset, nōnnūllī ab insciīs prō noxiīs conciduntur.
 Nam celerī rūmōre dilātō Diōnī vim allātā, multi
 concurrerant quibus tāle facinus displicēbat. Hī, falsā
 sūspiciōne ductī, immerentēs ut scelerātōs occidunt.
 Hūius dē morte ut palam factum est, mirābiliter volgi 2
 mūtāta est voluntās. Nam quī vīvom eum tyrannum
 vocitārant, eidem liberātōrem patriae tyrannique expul-

9. 2. *agitare*: 'row up and down.' 3. Zacynthus, an island on the W. coast of Greece. — *eant*: *ut eant*. — *propter n.*: 'because they were known.' 5. *quam* . . . *miseranda*: dep. on the supine *intellectu*. — *singularis p.*: *tyrannis*. — *qui*: *eorum qui*. 6. *custodes*: Dion's body-guard, who would not be far away. — *foribus e.*: *fores effringere et*. Cf. *f. obseratis*, above. — *foris*: *from without*.

- sōrem praedicābant. Sic subitō misericordia odiō succēsserat ut eum suō sanguine ab Acherunte, sī possent,
 3 cuperent redimere. Itaque in urbe, celeberrimō locō, elātus publicē, sepulcrī monumentō dōnātus est. Diem obiit circiter annōs quīnquāgintā nātus, quārtum post annum quam ex Peloponnēsō in Siciliam redierat.

XI.

IPHICRATES.

- 1 Īphicratēs Athēniēnsis nōn tam māgnitūdine rērum gestārum quam disciplinā militārī nōbilitātus est. Fuit enim tālis dux, ut nōn solum aetātis suae cum prīmīs comparārētur, sed nē dē māiōribus nātū quidem quis-
 2 quam antepōnerētur. Multum vērō in bellō est versātus, saepe exercitibus praefuit, nūquam culpā suā male rem gessit, semper cōsiliō vīcit, tantumque eō valuit ut multa in rē militārī partim nova attulerit
 3 partim meliōra fēcerit. Namque ille pedestria arma mūtāvit. Cum ante illum imperātōrem māximīs clipeīs, brevibus hastīs, minūtīs gladiīs ūterentur, ille ē contrāriō peltam prō parmā fēcit (ā quō postea peltastae peditēs appellāti sunt quī antea hoplitae appellabantur), ut ad mōtūs concursūsque essent leviōrēs; hastae modum duplicāvit; gladiōs longiōrēs fēcit. Īdem

IPHICRATES, DIED B.C. 353. — 1. *disciplina m.*: knowledge of the art of war. 3. *pedestria*: of the infantry. 4. *parma*: apparently the same here as the *clipeus*; round shields, larger than the *pelta*, which was crescent-shaped. — *peltastae*: pred. — *hoplitae*: ὁπλίται. The word implies a full and heavy equipment. — *modum*: i.e., the length; so as to be about 10 ft. long.

genus loricarum novum instituit et pro sertis atque aenis linteas dedit. Quo facto expeditiores milites reddidit; nam pondere detractō, quod aequē corpus tegeret et leve esset, curavit.

Bellum cum Thracibus gessit, Seuthem, socium Atheniensium, in regnum restituit. Apud Corinthum tantā severitate exercitui praefuit, ut nullae unquam in Graeciā neque exercitatiores copiae neque magis dicto audientes fuerint duci; in eamque consuetudinem adduxit, ut cum proeli signum ab imperatore esset datum, sine ducis operā sic ordinatae consisterent ut singuli a peritissimo imperatore dispositi viderentur. Hoc exercitū moram Lacedaemoniorum interfecit, quod maximē totā celebratum est Graeciā. Iterum eodem bellō omnes copias eorum fugavit, quō facto magnam adeptus est gloriā. Cum Artaxerxes Aegyptiō regi bellum inferre voluit, Iphicratē ab Atheniensibus ducem petivit, quem praeficeret exercitui conducticio, cuius numerus duodecim milium fuit. Quem quidem sic omni disciplinā militari erudit, ut quem ad modum quondam Fabiani milites Romae, sic Iphicratenses apud Graecos in summā laude fuerint. Idem subsidio Lacedaemoniis profectus Epaminondae retardavit impetū. Nam nisi eius adventus appropinquasset, non prius Thebani Spartā abscessissent quam captam incendio delissent.

1. 4. *lin-teas*: sc. *loricas*: *linen* cuirasses; instead of bronze ones (*aēnis*), made of plates 'linked' together (*sertis*). — *quod*, etc.: 'provided something to protect the body equally well (with the old heavy armor), and be light besides.'

2. *dicto a.*: see VI. 1, 2, n. (p. 31). 2. *singuli*: 'in their respective positions.' 3. *interfecit*: 'destroyed,' by killing every man. A *mora* (*μῆρα*, 'regiment') of the Lacedaemonian army contained 6 companies of 100 men. 4. *conducticio*: *mercenary*; *conducere*, 'to hire.'

- 3 Fuit autem et animō magnō et corpore imperatō-
riāque fōrmā, ut ipsō aspectū cuius iniceret admirā-
2 tiōnem suī; sed in labōre nimis remissus parumque
patiēns, ut Theopompus memoriae prōdidit, bonus vēro
cīvis fidēque magnā. Quod cum in aliīs rēbus declārā-
vit, tum māximē in Amyntae Macedonis liberis tuendis.
Namque Eurydicē, māter Perdiccae et Philippi, cum
hīs duōbus puerīs Amyntā mortuō ad Īphicratē cōn-
3 fūgit eiusque opibus dēfēsa est. Vixit ad senectūtem,
placātis in sē suōrum cīvium animīs. Causam capitis
semel dīxit, bellō sociali, simul cum Timotheō, eōque
4 iūdiō est absolūtus. Menesthea filium reliquit, ex
Thraessā nātum, Cotī rēgis filiā. Is cum interrogā-
rētur utrum plūris, patrem mātremne, faceret, 'Ma-
trem' inquit. Id cum omnibus mirum vidērētur, at
ille, 'Meritō' inquit 'faciō: nam pater, quantum
in sē fuit, Thrācem mē genuit; contrā ea, māter
Athēniensem.'

3. 2. *declaravit: ostendit.* — Amyntas, king of Macedon. His son Philip, here named, was the father of Alexander the Great. Iphicrates was in Thrace, with an army, at the time the queen sought his protection. 3. *placatis, etc.*: said with reference to the impeachments of Iphicrates. — The Social War, waged by Athens against states revolting from her *second* Maritime Empire, B.C. 357–355. 4. *Thraessa*: fem. of *Thraz.* — *utrum*: acc. masc.; 'which of the two.' — *pluris faceret*: 'he set more store by.' — *at*: marks the difference of their views more strongly than *tamen* would. — *quantum, etc.*: 'did his best to have me a Thracian.'

XII.

CHABRIAS.

Chabriās Athēniēnsis. Hīc quoque in summīs 1
 habitus est ducibus rēsque multās memoriā dignās ges-
 sit. Sed ex eis elūcet māximē inventum ēius in proeliō
 quod apud Thēbās fēcit, cum Boeōtis subsidiō vēnisset.
 Namque in eō, victoriā fidente summō duce Agēsilāō, 2
 fugītis iam ab eō conducticiis catervīs, reliquam pha-
 langem locō vetuit cēdere, obnixōque genū scūtō
 prōiectā hastā impetum excipere hostium docuit. Id
 novum Agēsilāus contuēns, prōgredi nōn est ausus
 suōsque iam incurrentēs tubā revocāvit. Hōc ūsque 3
 eō tōtā Graeciā fāmā celebrātum est, ut illō statū Cha-
 briās statuam fieri voluerit quae publicē ei ab Athēniēn-
 sibus in forō cōstitutā est. Ex quō factum est ut
 postea āthlētae cēterique artificēs eis statibus in statuīs
 pōnendis ūterentur quibus victōriam essent adeptī.

Chabriās autem multa in Eurōpā bella admini- 2
 strāvit, cum dux Athēniēnsium esset; in Aegyptō suā
 sponte gessit; nam Nectenebin adiūtum profectus,
 rēgnū ei cōstituit. Fēcit idem Cypri, sed publicē 2

CHABRIAS, DIED B.C. 357. — 1. *inventum*: device. — *fecit*: fought.
 2. The ablatives absolute mark the critical moment reached in the battle.
 — *reliquam p.*: the rest of the line; i.e., the citizen soldiery, as opp. to
 the mercenaries already routed by Agesilaus. — *obnixō*, etc.: with the
 (left) knee pressed against the shield, which would thus suffice to pro-
 tect the whole body. The soldier (of the front rank) knelt on the right
 knee. Cf. the modern position, 'receive cavalry.' — *docuit*: instructed
 them. The order had never been heard before. — *id n.*: 'this innova-
 tion.' 3. *illo s.*: the posture adopted at the battle. — *artifices*: 'skilled
 performers.'

- ab Athēniēnsibus Euagorae adiutor datus, neque prius inde discēssit quam tōtam insulam bellō dēvinceret;
- 3 quā ex rē Athēniēnsēs māgnam glōriam sunt adepti. Interim bellum inter Aegyptiōs et Persās cōnflātum est. Athēniēnsēs cum Artaxerxe societātem habēbant, Lacedaemoniī cum Aegyptiīs, ā quibus māgnās praeda Agēsilaus rēx eōrum faciēbat. Id intuēns Chabriās, cum in rē nullā Agēsilāo cēderet, suā sponte eōs adiutum profectus, Aegyptiae clāssī praefuit, pedestribus cōpiis Agēsilaus.
- 8 Tum praefecti rēgis Persae lēgātōs misērunt Athēnās, questum quod Chabriās adversum rēgem bellum gereret cum Aegyptiīs. Athēniēnsēs diem certam Chabrae praestituērunt, quam ante domum nisi redisset, capitis sē illum damnātūrōs dēnūtiārunt. Hōc ille nūntiō Athēnās rediit, neque ibi diūtius est morātus quam fuit necesse. Nōn enim libenter erat ante oculōs suōrum cīvium, quod et vīvēbat lautē et indulgēbat sibi liberālius quam ut invidiam volgi posset
- 2 effugere. Est enim hōc commūne vitium in māgnīs liberisque civitātibus, ut invidia glōriae comes sit, et libenter dē eis dētrahant quōs ēminēre videant altius, neque animō aequō pauperēs aliēnam intueantur fōrtūnam. Itaque Chabriās, quoad ei licēbat, plūrimum
- 4 aberat. Neque vērō sōlus ille aberat Athēnis libenter, sed omnēs ferē principēs fēcērunt idem, quod tantum sē ab invidiā putābant āfutūrōs quantum ā cōspectū suō-

2. 2. Evagoras, king of Salamis in Cyprus. 3. *praedas*: metaphorical; *profits*. — *cederet*: 'meant to be left behind.'

3. *questum*: supine of *queror*. 2. *liberalius quam ut, etc.*: 'too generously to be able.' 4. *omnes fere, etc.*: this statement is far from true.

rum recēsserant. Itaque Conōn plūrimum Cypri vixit, Īphicratēs in Thrāciā, Tīmotheus Lesbī, Charēs Sīgēi; dissimilis quidem Charēs hōrum et factīs et mōribus, sed tamen Athēnīs et honōrātus et potēns.

Chabriās autem periit bellō sociali tālī modō. Op- 4
pugnābant Athēniēnsēs Chium. Erat in clāsse Cha-
briās privātus, sed omnēs quī in magistrātū erant
auctōritāte antebat, eumque magis militēs quam quī
praeerant suspiciēbant. Quae rēs ei mātūrāvit mortem. 2
Nam dum primus studet portum intrāre gubernā-
tōremque iubet eō dirigere nāvem, ipse sibi perniciēi
fuit; cum enim eō penetrāset, cēterae nōn sunt secū-
tae. Quō factō circumfūsus hostium concursū, cum
fortissimē pugnāret, nāvis rōstrō percussa coepit sidere.
Hinc refugere cum posset sī sē in mare dēiēcisset, quod 3
suberat clāssis Athēniēnsium quae exciperet natantēs,
perīre māluit quam armīs obiectīs nāvem relinquere
in quā fuerat vectus. Id cēteri facere nōluērunt,
quī nandō in tūtum pervēnērunt. At ille, praestāre
honestam mortem existimāns turpī vītae, comminus
pugnāns tēlis hostium interfectus est.

4. *suspiciebant*: cf. X. 1, 5, n. (p. 55). 2. *dum . . . iubet*: denotes the *means* of his self-destruction; 'in striving, etc.' — *percussa*: 'rammed.' The *rostrum* ('beak') of the ancient trireme was armed with spikes for this manoeuvre. — *quae exciperet*: to pick up.

XIII.

TIMOTHEUS.

- 1 Timotheus, Conōnis filius, Athēniēnsis. Hic ā patre acceptam glōriam multis auxit virtūtibus; fuit enim disertus, impiger, labōriōsus, rei militāris peritus, neque minus cīvitātis regendae. Multa hūius sunt praeclārē
 2 facta, sed haec māximē illūstria. Olynthiōs et Byzantiōs bellō subēgit. Samum cēpit; in quō oppidō oppugnandō superiōre bellō Athēniēnsēs mille et ducenta talenta cōsūmpserant, id ille sine ullā publicā impēnsā populō restituit. Adversus Cotum bella gessit ab eōque mille et ducenta talenta praedae in publicum
 3 rettulit. Cyzicum obsidiōne liberāvit. Ariobarzāni simul cum Agēsilāo auxiliō profectus est; ā quō cum Lacō pecūniam numerātam accēpisset, ille cīvēs suōs agrō atque urbibus augērī māluit quam id sūmere cūius partem domum suam quisque ferre posset. Itaque accēpit Crithōtēn et Sēstum.
- 2 Īdem, clāssī praefectus, circumvehēns Peloponnēsum, Lacōnicēn populātus, clāssem eōrum fugāvit, Corcȳram sub imperium Athēniēnsium redēgit; sociōsque Īdem adiūnxit Ēpīrōtās, Athamānas, Chāonas, omnēsque

TIMOTHEUS, DIED B.C. 354.—1. 2. in quo . . . oppugnando: meaning Samos, of course, but preparing for *id.* 'That town whose reduction had formerly cost, etc.'—*superiore* b.: under Pericles, B.C. 440, during the first Maritime Empire.—*restituit*: after its revolt in the Social War. See XI. 3, 3, n. (p. 64). 3. Cyzicus, on the Propontis, was besieged by a Persian force.—*auxilio*: to help the satrap in his revolt against the king.—*quo*: Ariobarzanes.—*Laco*: Agesilaus.

2. 1. The chronology is erroneous. These events took place before those related in chapter 1.

eīs gentēs quae mare illud adiacent. Quō factō, Lace- 2
 daemoniī dē diūtīnā contentiōne dēstitērunt, et suā
 sponte Athēniēnsibus imperī maritimī prīncipātum
 concēssērunt, pīcemque eīs lēgibus cōstituērunt, ut
 Athēniēnsēs marī ducēs essent. Quae victōria tantae
 fuit Atticīs laetitiae, ut tum prīmum ārae Pāci publicē 3
 sint factae eiūque deae pulvinar sit institūtum. Cūius
 laudis ut memoria manēret, Tīmotheō publicē statuam
 in forō posuērunt. Quī honōs huīc ūnī ante id tempus
 contigit, ut cum patrī populus statuam posuisset, filiō
 quoque daret. Sic, iūxtā posita, recēns filiī veterem
 patris renovāvit memoriā.

Hīc cum esset māgnō nātū et magistrātūs gerere 3
 dēsisset, bellō Athēniēnsēs undique premi sunt coeptī.
 Dēfēcerat Samus, dēscierat Hellēspontus, Philippus
 iam tum valēns multa mōliēbātur; cui oppositus
 Charēs cum esset, nōn satis in eō praesidī putābātur.
 Fit Menestheus praetor, filius Īphicratis, gener Tīmo- 2
 theī; et ut ad bellum proficiscātur dēcernitur. Huīc
 in cōsiliū dantur virī duo, ūsū sapientiāque prae-
 stantēs, pater et socer, quod in hīs tanta erat auctōri-
 tās ut māgna spēs esset per eōs āmissa posse recupe-
 rārī. Eī cum Samum profectī essent, et eōdem Charēs 3
 illōrum adventū cōgnitō cum suis cōpiīs proficiscerētur,
 nē quid absente sē gestum vidērētur, accidit cum ad
 Insulam appropinquārent ut māgna tempestās orerētur;
 quam ēvitāre duo veterēs imperātōrēs ūtile arbitrātī,

2. 2. **pulvinar**: 'thanksgiving'; properly, the cushion or couch for the gods at the *lectisternium*. 3. **recens**: *sc. memoria*, in which *statua* has become merged.

3. **magno n.**: *cf. IV. 5, 3 (p. 27)*. — **desisset**: from *desino*. — **dēscierat**: from *dēscisco*. — **Philippus**: king of Macedon. 2. **usu**: *experience*.

- 4 suam clāssē suppressērunt. At ille, temerariā ūsus
 ratiōne, nōn cēssit māiōrum nātū auctōritātī, velut in
 suā manū esset fōrtūna. Quō contenderat pervēnit,
 eōdemque ut sequerentur, ad Tīmotheum et Īphicratēn
 nūntium mīsīt. Hinc, male rē gestā, complūribus āmis-
 sis nāvibus, eō unde erat profectus sē recēpit litte-
 rāsque Athēnās publicē mīsīt, sibi prōclive fuisse
 Samum capere nisi ā Tīmotheō et Īphicrate dēsertus
 5 esset. Populus ācer, sūspiciāx, ob eamque rem mōbilis,
 adversārius, invidus (etenim potentia in crīmen vocā-
 bātur), domum revocat; accūsantur prōditiōnis. Hōc
 iūdiō damnatūr Tīmotheus lisque ēius aestimātūr
 centum talentis. Ille, odiō ingrātae civitātis coāctus,
 Chalcidem sē contulit.
- 4 Hūius post mortem, cum populum iūdiō suī paeni-
 tēret, multae novem partēs dētrāxit et decem talenta
 Conōnem, filium ēius, ad mūrī quandam partem refi-
 ciendam iūssit dare. In quō fōrtūnae varietās est
 animadversa. Nam quōs avus Conōn mūrōs ex
 hostium praedā patriae restituerat, eōsdem nepōs
 cum summā ignōminiā familiae ex suā rē familiārī
 reficere coāctus est.
- 2 Tīmothei autem moderātae sapientisque vitāe, cum
 plēraque possīmus prōferre testimōnia, ūnō erimus con-
 tentī, quod ex eō facile conici poterit quam cārus suis
 fuerit. Cum Athēnīs adulēscēntulus causam dīceret,

3. 3. *supprimerunt*: stopped. 4. *proclive* f.: 'that it had been an easy matter.' 5. *acer*: passionate.—*mobilis*: fickle.—*adversarius*: captious. Nepos is over-ready with opprobrious epithets for the Athenian people.—Chalcis, in Euboea.

4. *multae*: of the fine.—*novem p.*: nine-tenths.—*varietas*: mobilities.—*quos . . . muros*: for the arrangement, cf. Eng. 'what time' (at the time when); for the fact, IX. 4, 5. (p. 53).

nōn solum amīcī privātique hospites ad eum dēfenden-
 dum convēnerunt, sed etiam in eis Iāsōn, tyrannus
 Thessaliae, quī illō tempore fuit omnium potentiissi-
 mus. Hīc cum in patriā sine satellitibus sē tūtum nōn 3
 arbitrārētur, Athēnās sine ullō praesidiō vēnit, tantique
 hospitem fēcit ut mallet sē capitis periculum adire
 quam Timotheō dē fāmā dīmicanti dēssē. Hunc
 adversus tamen Timotheus postea, populī iussū, bellum
 gessit; patriae sāctiōra iūra quam hospitī esse dūxit.

Haec extrēma fuit aetās imperātōrum Athēniēnsium, 4
 Īphicratis, Chabriae, Timotheī; neque post illōrum
 obitum quisquam dux in illā urbe fuit dignus memoriā.
 Veniō nunc ad fortissimum virum māximique cōsili 5
 omnium barbarōrum, exceptis duōbus Carthāginiēnsi-
 bus, Hamilcare et Hannibale. Dē quō hōc plūra referē- 6
 mus, quod et obscuriōra sunt eius gesta plēraque, et ea
 quae prōsperē ei cēsserunt nōn māgnitudine cōpiārum
 sed cōsili, quō tum omnēs superābat, accidērunt;
 quōrum nisi ratiō explicāta fuerit, rēs appārere nōn
 poterunt.

4. 2. *privati h.*: contrasted with Jason, who as a ruler was
publicus hospes. 3. *tanti fecit*: cf. *pluris f.*, XI. 3, 4. (p. 64). — *de*
fama: said with reference to the political disability which the defend-
 ant was liable to incur. The writer has sought for the antithesis
 here between *capitis* and *fama*. 5. *maximique c.*: 'and the wisest.'
 6. *hoc*: explained by *quod, etc.* — *ratio*: 'the circumstances.' — *res*:
 'the facts.'

XIV.

DATAMES.

- 1 Datamēs, patre Camisare, nātiōne Cāre, mātrem Scythissā nātus, primum militum in numero fuit apud Artaxerxē, eorum qui regiam tuebantur. Pater eius Camisarēs, quod et manū fortis et bellō strēnuos et regi multis locis fidelis erat repertus, habuit prōvinciam partem Ciliciae iuxtā Cappadociam quam incolunt Leucosyri. Datamēs, militāre mūnus fungēns, primum quālis esset aperuit in bellō quod rex adversus Cadūsios gessit. Namque hic magni fuit eius opera. Quō factum est, cum in eō bellō cecidisset Camisarēs, ut paterna ei trāderetur prōvincia.
- 2 Pari sē virtute postea praeuit cum Autophrodātēs iussu regis bellō persequeretur eos qui defecerant. Namque huius operā hostēs, cum castra iam intrāssent, multis milibus regiōrum interfectis, profligati sunt exercitusque reliquos cōservātus regis est; quā ex re maiōribus rebus praeesse coepit.
- 2 Erat eō tempore Thuys, dynastēs Paphlagoniae, antiquo genere, ortus ā Pylaemene illō quem Homērus Trōicō bellō ā Patroclō interfectum ait. Is regi dicto audiēns nōn erat. Quam ob causam bellō eum persequi cōstituit eique rei praefecit Datamēn, propinquom Paphlagonis; namque ex fratre et sorore erant nati.
- 3 Quam ob causam Datamēs primum experiri voluit

DATAMES, DIED B.C. 360 (?). — 1. *Scythissa*: was her name. — *regiam*: palace. 2. *militare*: of a common soldier; cf. *militum* in *numero*, above.

ut sine armīs propinquom ad officium redūceret. Ad quem cum vēnisset sine praesidiō, quod ab amicō nūllās verērētur insidiās, paene interiit; nam Thuys eum clam interficere voluit. Erat māter cum Datame, 4 amita Paphlagonis. Ea quid agerētur rescit filiumque 5 monuit. Ille fugā periculum ēvitāvit bellumque indixit Thuynī. In quō cum ab Ariobarzāne, praefectō Lȳdiae et Iōniae tōtiusque Phrygiae, dēsertus esset, nihilō sēgnius perseverāvit vīvomque Thuyn cēpit cum uxōre et liberīs.

Cūius facti nē prius fāma ad rēgem quam ipse pervenīret, dedit operam. Itaque, omnibus insciīs, eō ubi erat rēx vēnit, posterōque diē Thuyn, hominem māximī corporis terribilique faciē, quod et niger et capillō longō barbique erat prōmissā, optimā veste tēxit quam satrapae rēgī gerere cōsuērant; ōrnāvit etiam torque atque armillis aureīs cēterōque rēgiō cultū; ipse, 2 agrestī duplici amiculō circumdatus hīrtāque tunicā, gerēns in capite galeam vēnātōriam, dextrā manū clāvam, sinistrā cōpulam, ita vinctum ante sē Thuynem agēbat, ut sī feram bēstiam captam dūceret. Quae 3 cum omnēs cōspicerent propter novitātem ōrnātūs ignōtamque fōrmam ob eamque rem māgnus esset concursus, fuit nōn nēmō quī agnōsceret Thuyn rēgīque nūntiāret. Prīmō nōn accrēdidit; itaque Pharnabazum mīsīt explōrātum. Ā quō ut rem gestam com-

2. 3. *ut*: *how*, instead of 'whether.' 4. *amita*: *aunt*, on the father's side.

3. *ne prius*, etc.: Datames' practical joke was intended to afford the king a 'surprise.'—*Thuyn*: Greek acc.—*niger*, etc.: '*swarthy, with long hair and flowing beard*.'—*torque*: *neck-chain*.' 2. *copulam*: *halter*. 3. *ignotam* f.: 'the strange figure that he cut.' 4. *non accredidit*: *was inclined not to believe it*. Cf. *addubitat*, IX. 5, 4. (p. 53).

- perit, statim admittī iūssit, māgnō opere dēlectātus cum factō tum ōrnātū, in primīs quod nōbilis rēx in
- 5 potestātem inopināntī vēnerat. Itaque māgnificē Datamēn dōnātum ad exercitum mīsīt quī tum contrahēbātur, duce Pharnabazō et Tithrauste, ad bellum Aegyptium, parīque eum atque illōs imperiō esse iūssit. Postea vērō quam Pharnabazum rēx revocāvit, illi summa imperī trāditā est.
- 4 Hīc, cum māximō studiō comparāret exercitum Aegyptumque proficiēsci parāret, subitō ā rēge litterae sunt ei missae, ut Aspim aggredērētur, quī Cataoniam tenēbat, quae gēns iacet suprā Ciliciam cōnfinis Capadociae. Namque Aspis, saltuōsam regiōnem castel-
- 2 lisque mūnitam incolēns, nōn solum imperiō rēgis nōn parēbat, sed etiam finitimās regiōnēs vexābat et quae rēgi portārentur abripiēbat. Datamēs, etsī longē aberat
- 3 ab eis regiōnibus et ā māiōre rē abstrahēbātur, tamen rēgis voluntātī mōrem gerendum putāvit. Itaque cum paucis sed viris fortibus nāvem cōnscendit, existimāns (quod accidit) facilius sē imprudentem parvā manū oppressūrum, quam parātum quamvis māgnō exercitū.
- 4 Hāc dēlātus in Ciliciam, ēgressus inde, diēs noctēsque iter faciēns, Taurum trāsiit eoque quō studuerat vēnit. Quaerit quibus locīs sit Aspis; cōgnōscit haud longē abesse profectumque eum vēnātum. Quae dum speculātur, adventūs eius causa cōgnōscitur. Pisidās, cum
- eis quōs sēcum habēbat, ad resistendum Aspis comparat. Id Datamēs ubi audīvit, arma sūmit, suōs sequī iubet, ipse equō concitātō ad hostem vehitur. Quem

3. 5. illi: *Datami*.

4. 2. *portarentur*: i.e., as tribute. 3. *imprudentem*: the enemy when off his guard. 4. *hac*: *nave*. — *venatum*: to hunt.

procul Aspis cōspiciēns ad sē ferentem pertimēscit atque ā cōnātū resistendī dēterritus sēsē dēdidit. Hunc Datamēs vinctum ad rēgem dūcendum trādīdit Mithridatī.

Haec dum geruntur, Artaxerxēs reminiscēns ā quantō 5
bellō ad quam parvam rem principem ducum mīsisset, sē ipse reprehendit et nūntium ad exercitum Acēn mīsit (quod nōndum Datamēn profectum putābat), quī diceret nē ab exercitū discēderet. Hīc priusquam pervenīret quō erat profectus, in itinere convēnit quī Aspim dūcēbant. Quā celeritātē cum māgnam bene- 2
volentiam rēgis Datamēs cōsecūtus esset, nōn minōrem invidiam aulicōrum excēpit, quod illum ūnum plūris quam sē omnēs fierī vidēbant. Quō factō cūctī ad eum opprimendum cōsensērunt. Haec Pandantēs, 3
gazae cūstōs rēgiae, amīcus Datamī, perscriptā eī mittit, in quibus docet eum in māgnō fore periculō sī quid illō imperante adversī in Aegyptō accidisset. Namque 4
eam esse consuetūdinem rēgiam, ut cāsūs adversōs hominibus tribuant, secundōs fōrtūnae suae; quō fierī ut facile impellantur ad eōrum perniciem quōrum ductū rēs male gestae nūntientur. Illum hōc māiōre fore in discrimine, quod quibus rēx māximē oboediat, eōs habeat inimicissimōs. Talibus ille litteris cōgnitis, 5
cum iam ad exercitum Acēn vēnisset, quod nōn ignōrābat ea vērē scripta, dēsciscere ā rēge cōstituit. Neque tamen quicquam fēcit quod fidē suā esset indignum. Nam Mandroclēn Māgnētem exercitui praefecit; 6
ipse cum suis in Cappadociam discēdit coniūctam-

4. 5. *ferentem*: *charging*; from deponent *feror*.

5. *Acen*: in Phoenicia.—*qui A.*: *eos qui A.* 2. *sulicorum*: *courtiers*. 4. *illum*: Pandantes said *tu*, emphatic.—*oboediat*: *listened*.

que huc Paphlagoniam occupat, celāns quā voluntāte esset in rēgem. Clam cum Ariobarzāne facit amicitiam, manum comparat, urbēs munitās suis tuendās trādit.

- 6 Sed haec propter hiemāle tempus minus prōsperē prōcēdebant. Audit Pisidās clam cōpiās adversus sē parāre. Filium eō Arsideum cum exercitū mittit; cadit in proeliō adulēscēns. Proficiscitur eō **pater**, nōn ita cum māgnā manū, celāns quantum vulnus accēpisset, quod prius ad hostem pervenire cupiēbat quam dē male rē gestā fāma ad suōs perveniret, nē cōgnitā
 2 filiī morte animī dēbilitārentur militum. Quō contēderat pervenit eisque locis castra pōnit, ut neque circumiri multitūdine adversāriorum posset, neque impediri quō minus ipse ad dīmicandum manum habēret expeditam. Erat cum eō Mithrobarzānēs, socer eius, prae-
 3 fectus equitum. Is, dēspērātis generī rēbus, ad hostēs transfūgit. Id Datamēs ut audivit, sēnsit, sī in turbam exisset, ab homine tam necessāriō sē relictum,
 4 futūrum ut cēteri idem cōnsilium sequerentur. Itaque in volgus edit, suō iūssū Mithrobarzānem profectum prō perfugā, quō facilius receptus interficeret hostēs; quārē relinqui eum pār nōn esse et omnēs cōnfestim sequi. Quod sī animō strēnuō fēcissent, futūrum ut adversārii nōn possent resistere, cum et intrā vallum
 5 et foris caederentur. Hāc rē probātā, exercitum ēducit, Mithrobarzānem persequitur; quī tantum quod ad hostēs pervēnerat cum Datamēs signa inferri iubet.
 6 Pisidae, novā rē commōti, in opiniōnem addūcuntur

6. 3. **se relictum**: *sc. esse*. 4. **in volgus edit**: *cf. in turbam exisset* ('became generally known'), above. 5. **tantum quod**: '*barely*.' — **signa**: *standards*; *s. inferre*, 'to attack.'

perflugās malā fidē compositōque fēcisse, ut receptī
 māiōri essent calamitatī. Primum eōs adoriuntur.
 Illi cum quid agerētur aut quā rē fieret Ignōrārent,
 colecti sunt cum eīs pūgnāre ad quōs trānsierant, ab
 eīsque stāre quōs reliquerant; quibus cum neutri par-
 cerent, celeriter sunt concisi. Reliquōs Pisidās resi- 7
 stentēs Datamēs invādit, primō impetū pellit, fugientēs
 persequitur, multōs interficit, castra hostium capit.
 Talī cōnsiliō, ūnō tempore, et prōditōrēs pērculit et 8
 hostēs prōfligāvit, et quod ad perniciem suam fuerat
 cōgitātum, id ad salutem convertit. Quō neque acūtius
 ūllius imperātōris cōgitātum neque celerius factum
 ūsquā legimus.

Ab hōc tamen virō Sysinās, māximus nātū filius, 7
 dēsciit ad rēgemque trānsiit et dē defectionē patris
 dētulit. Quō nūntiō Artaxerxēs commōtus, quod intel-
 legēbat sibi cum virō fortī ac strēnuō negōtium esse,
 quī et prius cōgitāre quam cōnārī cōnsuēsset, et cum
 cogitāset facere audēret, Autophrodātem in Cappado-
 ciam mittit. Hic nē intrāre posset, saltum in quō 2
 Ciliciae portae sunt sitae Datamēs praeoccupāre stu-
 dit. Sed tam subitō cōpiās contrahere nōn potuit.
 Ā quā rē dēpulsus, cum eā manū quam contrāxerat 3
 locum dēligit tālem, ut neque circumfrētur ab hostibus,
 neque praeteriret adversārius quān ancipitibus locis

6. 6. *composito*: by agreement. The Pisidians suspect just such a stratagem as Datames had feigned, to account for the desertion of Mithrobarzanes. — *ut recepti, etc.*: cf. *quo facilius, etc.*, 4. — *eos*: the deserters. — *stare ab*: 'to take sides with.' 7. *reliquos P.*: some had been killed by the deserters.

7. *sibi . . . esse*: 'that he had to deal with, etc.' 2. *Ciliciae p.*: the mountain-pass so named. 3. *quin . . . premeretur*: 'without being exposed to attack on both sides.' Cf. II. 3, 3, end (p. 13).

premeretur, et si dimicare vellet, non multum obesse multitudō hostium suae paucitātī posset.

- 8 Haec etsi Autophrodātēs vidēbat, tamen statim
māluit congregari quam cum tantis cōpiis refugere aut
2 tam diū unō locō sedere. Habēbat barbarōrum equi-
tum viginti, peditum centum milia, quōs illi Cardacas
appellant, eiusdemque generis tria milia funditorum;
praeterea Cappadocum octō milia, Armeniōrum decem
milia, Paphlagonum quīque milia, Phrygum decem
milia, Lydōrum quīque milia, Aspendiōrum et Pisi-
dārum circiter tria milia, Cilicum duo milia, Captiā-
nōrum totidem; ex Graeciā conductōrum tria milia,
3 levis armātūrae māximum numerum. Hās adversus
cōpiās spēs omnis cōsistēbat Datamī in sē locique
nātūrā; namque huius partem nō habēbat vicēsimam
militum. Quibus frētus cōnfluxit adversariōrumque
multa milia concidit, cum dē ipsius exercitū nō am-
plius hominum mille cecidisset. Quam ob causam po-
sterō diē tropaeum posuit quō locō pridie pugnātum
4 erat. Hinc cum castra mōvisset semperque inferior
cōpiis, superior omnibus proeliis, discēderet, quod num-
quam manum cōsereret nisi cum adversariōs locōrum
angustiis clausisset (quod peritō regiōnum callidēque
5 cōgitantī saepe accidēbat), Autophrodātēs, cum bellum
dūci māiōre regis calamitāte quam adversariōrum vidē-
ret, pācem amicitiamque pristinam memorāns, eum
6 hortātus est ut cum rēge in grātiā rediret. Quam

7. 3. *vellet*: sc. *adversarius*.

8. 2. *barbarorum*: i.e., not Greek; opp. to *ex Graecia*, below. —
eiusdem g.: *Cardacum*. — *funditorum*: *slingers*. — *conductorum*: see
XI. 2, 4, n. (p. 63.) 3. *huius*: *Autophrodatis*. — *tropaeum*: see II. 5,
3, n. (p. 15). — *quo loco*: see XIII. 4, 1, n. (p. 70). 4. *perito* . . . *cogi-*
tanti: 'familiar as he was with the localities, and full of shrewd devices.'

ille etsi fidam non fore putabat, tamen condicionem accepit seque ad Artaxerxem legatos missurum dixit. Sic bellum quod rex adversus Datamen susceperat sedatum est. Autophrodates in Phrygiam se recepit.

At rex, quod implacabile odium in Datamen suscep- 9
perat, postquam bello eum opprimi non posse animad-
vertit, insidiis interficere studuit, quas ille plerasque
evitavit. Sicut, cum ei nuntiatum esset, quosdam sibi 2
insidiari qui in amicorum erant numero, de quibus,
quod inimici detulerant, neque credendum neque ne-
glegendam putavit, experiri voluit, verum falsumne
sibi esset relatum. Itaque eo profectus est itinere in 3
quo futuras insidias dixerant. Sed elegit corpore ac
statu simillimum sui eique vestitum suum dedit at-
que eo loco ire, quo ipse consuevit, iussit; ipse autem,
ornatu vestituque militari, inter corporis custodes iter
facere coepit. At insidiatores, postquam in eum locum 4
agmen pervenit quem insederant, decepti ordine atque
vestitu, impetum in eum faciunt qui suppositus erat.
Praedixerat autem eis Datames cum quibus iter faci-
ebat, ut parati essent facere quod ipsum vidissent.
Ipse ut concurrentes insidiatores animum advertit, tela 5
in eos coniecit. Hoc idem cum universi fecissent,
priusquam pervenirent ad eum quem aggredi volebant,
confixi conciderunt.

Hic tamen tam callidus vir extremo tempore captus 10
est Mithridatis, Ariobarzanis filii, dolo. Namque is
pollicitus est regi, se eum interfectorum, si sibi rex
permitteret ut quodcumque vellet liceret impune facere,
fidemque de ea re more Persarum dextra dedisset.

9. 2. *inimici*: 'their enemies.' 3. *eo loco*, etc.: i.e., his own usual position in the line of march.

- 2 Hanc ut accēpit ā rēge missam, cōpiās parat et absēns amicitiam cum Datame facit, rēgis prōvinciās vexat, castella expūgnat, māgnās praedās capit, quārum partim suis dispertit, partim ad Datamēn mittit; parī modō
- 3 complūra castella ei trādit. Haec diū faciendō persuāsit hominī, sē infīnitum adversus rēgem suscepisse bellum, cum nihilō magis, nē quam sūspiciōnem illi praeberet insidiārum, neque colloquium ēius petīvit neque in cōspectum venīre studuit. Sic absēns amicitiam gerēbat, ut nōn beneficiis mūtuis, sed commūni odiō quod ergā rēgem suscepērant, continērī vidērentur.
- 11 Id cum satis sē cōfirmāsse arbitrātus esset, certiorē facit Datamēn, tempus esse māiōrēs rēs parārī et bellum cum ipsō rēge suscipī, dēque eā rē, sī ei vidērētur, quō locō vellet in colloquium venīret. Probātā rē, colloquendī tempus sūmitur locusque quō
- 2 convenīrētur. Hūc Mithridātēs, cum ūnō cui māximē habēbat fidem, ante aliquot diēs venit complūribusque locis sēparātīm gladiōs obruit eaque loca dīligenter nōtat. Ipsō autem colloquī diē utrīque locum quī explorārent atque ipsōs scrūtārentur mittunt; deinde
- 3 ipsi sunt congressi. Hīc cum aliquamdiū in colloquiō fuissent et dīversī discēssissent iamque procul Datamēs abesset, Mithridātēs, priusquam ad suos pervenīret, nē quam sūspiciōnem pareret, in eundem locum revertitur atque ibi ubi tēlum erat infossum resēdit, ut sī lassitudine cuperet acquiēscere, Datamēnque revocāvit,
- 4 simulāns sē quiddam in colloquiō esse oblītum. In-

10. 3. *nihilo m.*: notwithstanding the pretended league.

11. *id.*: i.e., *odium contra regem*. — *cum ipso r.*: and not merely with his satraps. — *videretur*: i.e., *placeret*. — *quo*: adv. 2. *locum . . . scrutarentur*: dep. on *mittunt*. — *ipsos*: the men; i.e., the attendants on either side, to see that they were unarmed.

terim tēlum quod latēbat prōtulit, nūdātumque vāginā
 veste tēxit, ac Datamī venientī ait digredientem sē
 animadvertisse locum quendam (quī erat in cōspectū)
 ad castra pōnenda esse idōneum. Quem cum digitō dē- 5
 mōnstrāret et ille respiceret, āversum ferrō trānsfixit,
 priusque quam quisquam posset succurrere interfēcit.
 Ita ille vir, quī multōs cōsiliō, nēminem perfidiā cēpe-
 rat, simulātā captus est amicitia.

11. 4. **protulit**: '*unearthed*.' 5. **aversum**: '*when his back was turned*.'



XV.

EPAMINONDAS.

Epaminōndās, Polymni filius, Thēbānus. Dē hōc 1
 priusquam scribimus, haec praecipienda videntur lēctō-
 ribus, nē aliēnōs mōrēs ad suōs referant, nēve ea quae
 ipsīs leviōra sunt, parī modō apud cēterōs fuisse arbi-
 trentur. Scīmus enim mūsicēn nostrīs mōribus abesse 2
 ā prīncipis persōnā, saltāre vērō etiam in vitiīs pōnī;
 quae omnia apud Graecōs et grāta et laude digna dū-
 cuntur. Cum autem exprimere imāginem cōsuētūdinis 3
 atque vitae velimus Epaminōndae, nihil vidēmur dēbere
 praetermittere quod pertineat ad eam dēclārādam.
 Quārē dicēmus prīmum dē genere eius; deinde quibus 4
 disciplīnis et ā quibus sit ērudītus; tum dē mōribus
 ingenīque facultātibus et sī qua alia memoriā digna
 erunt; postrēmō dē rēbus gestīs, quae ā plūrimīs omnium
 antepōnuntur virtūtibus.

Nātus igitur patre quō dīximus, genere honestō, 2
 pauper iam ā māiōribus relictus est, ērudītus autem sīc

EPAMINONDAS, DIED B.C. 362. — 1. **haec . . . referant**: 'it seems well to warn my readers not to measure foreign customs by the standard of their own.' Cf. the *Praefatio*. — **ipsis** 1.: *quite trivial in their own estimation*. Dat. of reference: cf. *omnibus*, *Praef.* 3. — **pari modo**: *sc. levia*. 2. **abesse**, etc.: *inconsistent with the character of a great man*. — **ducuntur**: *existimantur*. 3. **exprimere** i.: *to give a picture*. — **pertineat**, etc.: 'may serve to illustrate it (*consuetudinem, vitam*).'

2. **a maioribus**: with *pauper*. 'Left poor (i.e., by his father), as his ancestors had long been before him.'

- ut nēmō Thēbānus magis. Nam et citharīzāre et cantāre ad chordārum sonum doctus est ā Dionȳsiō, quī nōn minōre fuit in mūsicīs glōriā quam Dāmōn aut Lamprus, quōrum pervulgāta sunt nōmina; cantāre tibiis ab
- 2 Olympiodōrō, saltāre a Calliphrone. At philosophiae praeceptōrem habuit Lȳsim Tarentīnum, Pȳthagorēum; cui quidem sic fuit dēditus ut adulēscēns tristem ac sevērū senem omnibus aequālibus suis in familiāritate anteposuerit; neque prius eum ā sē dīmīsit quam in doctrinīs tantō antecēssit condiscipulōs, ut facile intellegī posset, parī modō superātūrum omnēs in cēteris
- 3 artibus. Atque haec ad nostram cōnsuetūdinem sunt levia et potius contemnenda; at in Graeciā, utique ōlim,
- 4 māgnae laudī erant. Postquam ephēbus est factus et palaestrae dare operam coepit, nōn tam māgnitūdini vīrium servīvit quam vėlōcitatī; illam enim ad āthlētārū ūsum, hanc ad bellī existimābat ūtilitatem
- 5 pertinēre. Itaque exercēbātur plūrimum currendō et lūctandō ad eum finem, quoad stāns complectī posset atque contendere. In armīs vērō plūrimum studi cōnsūmēbat.
- 8 Ad hanc corporis firmitatem plūra etiam animī bona accēsserant. Erat enim modestus, prūdēns, gravis,

2. 1. *cithar.*: κίθαριζεν, 'to play the harp.' — *in musicis*: among teachers of music. 2. *Lysis*, of Tarentum in Italy; in philosophy, an adherent of the school of Pythagoras. — *adulescens*, etc.: 'youth as he was he preferred the society of the grave and strict old man (Lysis) to that of all his mates.' — *doctrinis*: 'the various branches of learning.' *philosophia* was a very comprehensive term. — *artibus*: accomplishments. 4. *ephebus*: ἐφήβος, designating the age, 16–20. — *palaestra*, γυμναστήριον, the gymnasium for youths. *ad eum f.*, etc.: 'in the latter only so far as to be able to close and vie while on his feet (stans).' The other kind of wrestling-match, in which the struggle was continued after the contestants had fallen, Epaminondas did not practise.

3. *modestus*: 'full of self-restraint.' Cf. I. 1, 1, n. (p. 2). — *gravis*: serious.

temporibus sapienter utēns, perītus bellī, fortis manū,
 animō mǎximō, adeō vērītātis dīligēns ut nē iocō qui-
 dem mentirētur. Īdem continēns, clēmēns, patiēnsque 2
 admīrandum in modum, nōn sōlum populī sed etiam
 amīcōrum ferēns iniūriās; in primīs commissa cēlāns,
 quodque interdum nōn minus prōdest quam disertē
 dīcere, studiōsus audiendī; ex hōc.enim facillimē dīsci
 arbitrabātur. Itaque cum in circulum vēnisset in quō 3
 aut dē rē públicā disputārētur aut dē philosophiā sermō
 habērētur, numquam inde prius discēssit quam ad finem
 sermō esset adductus. Paupertātem adeō facile perpes- 4
 sus est ut dē rē públicā nihil praeter glōriam cēperit.
 Amīcōrum in sē tuendō caruit facultātibus, fidē ad aliōs
 sublevandōs saepe sic ūsus est ut iūdicārī possit omnia
 eī cum amīcīs fuisse communia. Nam cum aut cīvium 5
 suōrum aliquis ab hostibus esset captus aut virgō nūbīlis
 propter paupertātem collocārī nōn posset, amīcōrum
 cōnsilium habēbat, et quantum quisque daret prō fa-
 cultātibus imperābat. Eamque summam cum fēcerat, 6
 potius quam ipse acciperet pecūniam, addūcēbat eum
 quī quaerēbat ad eōs quī cōnferēbant, eīque ut ipsī
 numerārent faciebat, ut ille ad quem ea perveniēbat
 scīret quantum cuique dēbēret.

Tentāta autem eīus est abstinentia ā Diomedonte 4

3. 1. *temporibus*: *opportunities*. 2. *commissa c.*: 'good at keep-
 ing the secrets confided to him.'—*quodque*: *and what*; like *id quod*,
 anticipating what follows. 3. *circulum*: *group*.—*re p.*: *politics*.
 4. *amicorum*: with both *facultatibus* and *fide*. 'In caring for *himself*
 he dispensed with pecuniary aid from his friends, but employed his
 credit with them for the assistance of *others*.' 5. *collocari*: *settled in*
marriage. See III. 3, n. (p. 22).—*pro f.*: *in proportion to their means*.
 The same use of *facultates* as above.—*imperabat*: see IX. 4, 2, n.
 (p. 52). Here, a sort of assessment. 6. *ei . . . faciebat*: *and would*
cause them to count it out to him in person.

4. *abstinentia*: *integrity*; cf. III. 1, 2, n. (p. 21).

Cyzicēnō; namque is, rogātū Artaxerxis rēgis, Epamīnōndam pecūniā corrupendum suscēperat. Hic māgnō cum pondere aurī Thēbās vēnit et Micythum adulēscēntulum, quem tum Epamīnōndās plūrimum dīligēbat, quīnque talentis ad suam perdūxit voluntātem. Micythus Epamīnōndam convēnit et causam
 2 adventūs Diomedontis ostendit. At ille Diomedonti cōram, 'Nihil' inquit 'opus pecūniā est; nam sī rēx ea volt quae Thēbānīs sunt ūtilia, grātīs facere sum parātus; sīn autem contrāria, nōn habet aurī atque argenti satis. Namque orbis terrārum dīvitias accipere
 3 nōlō prō patriae cāritāte. Tū quod mē incōgnitum tentāstī tuīque similem exīstimāstī, nōn mīror tibi que ignōscō; sed ēgredere properē, nē aliōs corrupās, cum mē nōn potueris. Et tū, Micythe, argentum huīc redde, aut nisi id cōnfestim facis ego tē trādā magi-
 4 strātui.' Hunc Diomedōn cum rogāret ut tūtō exīre suaue quae attulerat licēret efferre, 'Istud quidem' inquit 'faciam, neque tuā causā sed meā, nē, sī tibi sit pecūnia adempta, aliquis dīcat id ad mē ēreptum pervē-
 5 nisse quod dēlātum accipere nōluissem.' Ā quō cum quaesisset quō sē dēducī vellet, et ille Athēnās dīxisset, praesidium dedit ut tūtō pervenīret. Neque vērō id satis habuit, sed etiam ut inviolātus in nāvem ēscenderet, per Chabriam Athēniēnsem, dē quō suprà mentiōnem fēcimus, effēcit. Abstinētia erit hōc satis testimō-
 6 nium. Plūrima quidem prōferre possumus, sed modus adhibendus est, quoniam ūnō hōc volūmine vitā excellentium virōrum complūrium conclūdere cōstituimus,

4. 3. **Tu quod**, etc.: 'as for your attempt upon me, etc.' 4. **istud**: 'what you request.' — **ereptum**: 'by force.' — **delatum**: 'as a present.'
 6. **volumine**: work; cf. *Praef.* 8.

quōrum rēs sēparātīm multīs milibus versuom complū-
rēs scriptōrēs ante nōs explicāunt.

Fuit etiam disertus, ut nēmō eī Thēbānus pār esset 5
ēloquentiā, neque minus concinnus in brevitate respon-
dendī quam in perpetuā ōrātiōne ōrnātus. Habuit 2
obtrēctātōrem Meneclidēn quendam, indidem Thēbīs,
et adversārium in administrandā rē publicā, satis exerci-
tātum in dīcendō, ut Thēbānum scīlicet; namque illi
gentī plūs inest vīrium quam ingenī. Is quod in rē 3
militārī florēre Epaminōndam vidēbat, hortārī solēbat
Thēbānōs ut pācem bellō anteferrent, nē illius imperā-
tōris opera dēsiderārētur. Huīc ille, 'Fallis' inquit
'verbō cīvēs tuōs, quod eōs ā bellō āvocās; ōtī enim
nōmine servitūtem conciliās. Nam paritur pāx bellō.
Itaque quī eā diūtīnā volunt fruī, bellō exercitātī esse 4
dēbent. Quārē, sī principēs Graeciae vultis esse, castrīs
est vōbīs ūtendum, nōn palaestrā.' Idem ille Mene- 5
clidēs cum huīc obiceret quod liberōs nōn habēret
neque uxōrem dūxisset, māximēque insolentiam, quod
sibi Agamemnonis bellī glōriam vidērētur cōnsecūtus;
at ille, 'Dēsine' inquit 'Meneclida, dē uxōre mihi
exprobrāre; nām nullius in istā rē minus ūtī cōnsiliō
volō.' Habēbat enim Meneclidēs sūspiciōnem adul-

4. 6. *versuom*: *lines*. — Nepos means that with other writers each hero often had a whole *volumen* to himself.

5. *concinnus*; '*pointed*.' — *perpetua o.*: continuous discourse, as opp. to a dispute or repartee. 2. *indidem T.*: *i.e., eundem Thebanum*. — *ut Thebanum s.*: 'that is, for a Theban.' — *namque, etc.*: *cf.* VII. 11, 3 (p. 45). 3. *florere*: 'rising to distinction.' — *imperatoris*: *as general*. — *quod avocas*: 'in dissuading.' — *oti nomine*: explains *verbo*, above. 'Under the name of peace you invite slavery.' 5. *obiceret, etc.*: *reproached E. with having no wife, etc.* — *insolentiam*: with *arrogance*. — *at*: *however*, contrasting E.'s readiness and the apparent difficulty of replying. *Cf.* XI. 3, 4 (p. 64). — *minus*: than yours.

- 6 teri. 'Quod autem mē Agamemnonem aemulārī putās, falleris. Namque ille cum ūniversā Graeciā vix decem annīs ūnam cēpit urbem, ego contrā ea, ūnā urbe nostrā diēque ūnō tōtam Graeciam Lacedaemoniis fugātis liberāvī.'
- 6 Īdem cum in conventum vēnisset Arcadum, petēns ut societātem cum Thēbānīs et Argīvis facerent, contrāque Callistratus, Athēniēnsium lēgātus, quī ēloquentiā omnēs eō praestābat tempore, pōstulāret ut potius amicitiam sequerentur Atticōrum, et in ōrātiōne suā multa invectus esset in Thēbānōs et Argīvōs, in eisque
- 2 hōc posuisset, animum advertere dēbēre Arcadēs quālēs utraque civitās civēs prōcreāssent, ex quibus dē cēteris possent iūdicāre; Argīvōs enim fuisse Orestem et Alcmaeonem mātricidās, Thēbīs Oedipum nātum, quī cum patrem suum interfēcisset ex mātre liberōs prōcreāssent; huīc in respondendō Epaminōndās, cum dē cēteris perōrāssent, postquam ad illa duo opprobria pervēnit, admīrārī sē dixit stultitiam rhētoris Attici, quī nōn animadverterit, innocentēs illōs nātōs domī, scelere admissō cum patriā essent expulsī, receptōs esse
- 4 ab Athēniēnsibus. Sed māximē eius ēloquentia ēlūxit Spartaē ante pūnam Leutricam. Quō cum omnium

5. 6. quod putas: 'as for your idea.' — liberavi: by the battle of Leuctra, B.C. 371.

6. in eis: ref. to multa (invectus esset); 'affirmed in the course of that invective.' 2. utraque c.: Thebes and Argos. — ex quibus, etc.: compare the saying, ex uno disce omnes. — Orestes and Alcmaeon, in the respective legends, slew their mothers to avenge the death of their fathers. — Oedipus, after killing his father unwittingly, married his mother, likewise unbeknown. 3. de ceteris p.: 'had finished his consideration of the other points.' — rhetoris: declaimer. — scelere a.: opp. to innocentes, and for emphasis placed before cum. — Both Orestes and Oedipus, as exiles, were harbored at Athens, according to the myths.

sociōrum convēnissent lēgātī, coram frequentissimō
 conventū sic Lacedaemoniōrum tyrannidem coarguit,
 ut nōn minus illā ōrātiōne opēs eōrum concusserit quam
 Leuctricā pūgnā. Tum enim perfēcit, quod post appā-
 ruit, ut auxiliō sociōrum privārentur.

Fuisse patientem suōrumque iniūriās ferentem 7
 civium, quod sē patriae irāscī nefās esse dūceret, haec
 sunt tēstimōnia. Cum eum propter invidiam civēs suī
 praeficere exercituī nōluissent, duxque esset dēlēctus
 bellī imperītus, cūius errōre rēs eō esset dēducta ut
 omnēs dē salūte pertimēscerent, quod locōrum angustīis
 clausī ab hostibus obsidēbantur, dēsīderārī coepta est
 Epaminōndae dīligentia; erat enim ibi privātus numerō
 militis. Ā quō cum peterent opem, nūllam adhibuit 2
 memoriā contumēliae et exercitum obsidiōne liberā-
 tum domum redūxit incolumem. Nec vērō hōc semel
 fēcīt sed saepius. Māximē autem fuit illūstre cum 3
 in Peloponnēsūm exercitum dūxisset adversus Lacedaemoniōs
 habēretque collēgās duōs, quōrum alter erat
 Pelopidās, vir fortis ac strēnuos. Hīc cum crīminibus
 adversāriōrum omnēs in invidiam vēnissent, ob eamque
 rem imperiū eīs esset abrogātum, atque in eōrum
 locum aliī praetōrēs succēssissent, Epaminōndās populī 4
 scītō nōn pārui, idemque ut facerent persuāsīt collēgīs,
 et bellum quod suscepērat gessīt. Namque animad-
 vertēbat, nisi id fēcisset, tōtūm exercitum propter
 praetōrum imprūdentiam inscītiāque bellī peritūrum.
 Lēx erat Thēbis quae morte multābat sī quis imperiū 5

6. 4. *tyrannidem* c.: 'exposed the tyrannical policy'. — *opes concusserit*: *crushed their power*.

7. *numero*: *rank*. Cf. *militum in numero*, XIV. 1, 1 (p. 72).

3. *abrogatum*: see VII. 7, 3, n. (p. 41).

diūtius retinuisset quam lēge praefīnitum foret. Hanc Epaminōndās cum rei pūblīcae cōservandae causā lātā vidēret, ad perniciem cīvitātis cōferri nōluit, et quattuor mēnsibus diūtius quam populus iūsserat gessit imperium.

- 8 Postquam domum reditum est, collēgae eius hōc crīmīne accūsābantur. Quibus ille permīsit ut omnem causam in sē trānsferrent suāque operā factum contenderent ut lēgi nōn oboedirent. Quā dēfēnsiōne illis periculō liberātis, nēmō Epaminōndam respōnsū-
- 2 rum putābat, quod quid diceret nōn habēret. At ille in iūdicium vēnit, nihil eōrum negāvit quae adversariī crīmīnī dabant omniaque quae collēgae dixerant cōfessus est, neque recūsāvit quō minus lēgis poenam subīret, sed ūnum ab eis petīvit, ut in sepulcrō suō inscriberent: ‘Epaminōndās ā Thēbānis morte multātus est, quod eōs coēgit apud Leuctra superāre Lacedaemoniōs, quōs ante sē imperātōrem nēmō Boeōtōrum ausus est
- 4 āspicere in aciē, quodque ūnō proeliō nōn solum Thēbās ab interitū retrāxit sed etiam ūniversam Graeciam in libertātem vindicāvit, eoque rēs utrōrumque perdūxit ut Thēbānī Spartam oppūgnārent, Lacedaemoniī
- 5 satis habērent sī salvī esse possent, neque prius bellāre dēstitit quam Messēnē restitūtā urbem eōrum obsidiōne clausit.’ Haec cum dixisset, rīsus omnium cum hilaritāte coortus est neque quisquam iūdex ausus est dē eō ferre suffrāgium. Sic ā iūdicio capitis māximā dīcēssit glōriā.

7. 5. *latam*: enacted. — *conferri*: to be turned.

8. *omnem c.*: the whole responsibility. 5. *Messene*: previously subject to the Lacedaemonians, but now restored to independence as an offset to their power.

Hic extrēmō tempore imperātor apud Mantinēam, 9
 cum aciē instructā audācius instāret hostibus, cōgnitus
 ā Lacedaemoniis, quod in ūnūs perniciē eius patriae
 sitam putābant salūtem, ūniversī in ūnum impetum
 fēcērunt, neque prius abscēssērunt quam māgnā caede
 ēditā multisque occīsīs fortissimē ipsum Epaminōndam
 pūgnantem, sparō ēminus percutsum, concidere vidē-
 runt. Hūius cāsū aliquantum retardāti sunt Boeōtī, 2
 neque tamen prius pūgnā excēssērunt quam repū-
 gnantēs prōfligārent. At Epaminōndās cum animad- 3
 verteret mortiferum sē volnus accēpisse, simulque sī
 ferrum (quod ex hastili in corpore remānserat) extrā-
 xisset, animam statim ēmissūrum, ūsque eō retinuit
 quoad renūtiātum est vīcissee Boeōtōs. Id postquam 4
 audivit, 'Satis' inquit 'vixī; invictus enim morior.'
 Tum ferrō extrāctō cōnfēstin exanimātus est.

Hic uxōrem numquam dūxit. In quō cum repre- 10
 henderētur ā Pelopidā, quī filium habēbat infāmem,
 maleque eum in eō patriae cōnsulere dīceret, quod
 liberōs nōn relinqueret, 'Vidē' inquit 'nē tū pēius
 cōnsulās, quī tālem ex tē nātum relictūrus sīs. Neque
 vērō stirps potest mihi dēsse; namque ex mē nātam 2
 relinquō pūgnam Leutricam, quae nōn modo mihi
 superstes sed etiam immortalis sit necesse est.' Quō 3
 tempore duce Pelopidā exsulēs Thēbās occupārent et
 praesidium Lacedaemoniōrum ex arce expulērunt,
 Epaminōndās, quamdiū facta est caedēs cīvium, domō
 sē tenuit, quod neque malōs dēfendere volēbat neque

9. Mantinea, in Arcadia. The battle, B.C. 362. — *eminus*: opp. to *comminus*; cf. VII. 10, 6 (p. 44). 'Struck by a flying dart.' 3. *hastili*: the shaft, from which the steel point had become detached.

10. 2. *ex me n.*: 'as my daughter.' 3. *arce*: the citadel of Thebes, known as the *Cadmēa*.

- impugnāre, nē manūs suōrum sanguine cruentāret;
 namque omnem cīvilem victōriam fūnestam putābat.
 4 Idem, postquam apud Cadmēam cum Lacedaemoniis
 5 pugnārī coeptum est, in primīs stetit. Hūius dē virtū-
 tibus vitāque satis erit dictum sī hōc ūnum adiūnxerō,
 quod nēmō ibit infitiās, Thēbās et ante Epaminōndam
 nātum et post eiusdem interitum perpetuō aliēnō
 pāruisse imperiō; contrā ea, quam diū ille praefuerit
 rei publicae, caput fuisse tōtius Graeciae. Ex quō
 intellegī potest ūnum hominem plūris quam cīvitātem
 fuisse.

XVI.

PELOPIDAS.

- 1 Pelopidās Thēbānus, magis historicis quam volgō
 nōtus. Cūius dē virtūtibus dubitō quem ad modum ex-
 pōnam, quod vereor, sī rēs explicāre incipiam, nē nōn
 vitam eius enārrāre sed historiam videar scribere; sīn
 tantummodo summās attigerō, nē rudibus Graecārum
 litterārum minus dilūcidē appāreat quantus fuerit ille
 vir. Itaque utrīque rei occurram quantum potuerō, et
 medēbor cum satietātī tum Ignōrantiae lēctōrum.

10. 3. *civilem*: over citizens.—*funestam*: homicidal. Pollution by contact with a dead body is implied in the word.—*postquam*, etc.: i.e., later in the same affair; opp. to *quādiu* . . . *civium*, above.
 4. *in primis*: in the front. 5. *ibit* i.: i.e., *negabit*.—*paruisse*: i.e., in so far as she did not hold the *principatus*, which was only during the time of Epaminondas.

PELOPIDAS, DIED B.C. 363.—1. *magis . . . notus*: better known to those versed in history than to the general public.—*summas*: the main points.—*rudibus*, etc.: cf. *expertes litterarum Graecarum, Praef.* 2.—*medebor*, etc.: a metaphor from medicine. Nepos says he will try to meet both difficulties and save his readers from being either 'stuffed' or 'starved.'

Phoebīdās Lacedaemonius cum exercitum Olynthum 2
 dūceret iterque per Thēbās faceret, arcem oppidi, quae
 Cadmēa nōminātur, occupāvit impulsū paucōrum Thē-
 bānōrum, quī adversāriae factiōnī quō facilius resi-
 sterent, Lacōnum rēbus studēbant; idque suō privātō
 nōn publicō fēcit cōsiliō. Quō factō eum Lacedae- 3
 moniī ab exercitū remōvērunt pecūniāque multārunt;
 neque eō magis arcem Thēbānīs reddidērunt, quod su-
 ceptīs inimicitīs satius dūcēbant eōs obsidērī quam
 liberārī. Nam post Peloponnēsium bellum Athēnās-
 que dēvictās, cum Thēbānīs sibi rem esse exīstimābant
 et eōs esse sōlōs quī adversus resistere audērent. Hāc
 mente amicīs suis summās potestātēs dederant, alterius- 4
 que factiōnis prīncipēs partim interfēceraut, aliōs in
 exsilium eiēceraut; in quibus Pelopidās hīc, dē quō
 scribere exōrsi sumus, pulsus patriā carēbat.

Hī omnēs ferē Athēnās sē contulerant, nōn quō 2
 sequerentur ōtium, sed ut quem ex proximō locum fōrs
 obtulisset, eō patriam recuperāre nīterentur. Itaque 2
 cum tempus esset vīsum rei gerendae, commūniter cum
 eis quī Thēbis idem sentiēbant diem dēlēgērunt ad
 inimicōs opprimendōs cīvitātemque liberandam, eum

1. 2. **rebus s.:** cf. VI. 1, 5, n. (p. 32). The Laconian party were of course the oligarchs; cf. *paucorum*, above. 3. **susceptis . . . ducebant:** 'the enmity once incurred, they deemed it better, etc.' — **obsideri, i.e.,** under intimidation by the Spartan garrison in the Cadmea. — **rem esse:** cf. *negotium esse*, XIV. 7, 1, n. (p. 77). 4. **patria c.:** was bereft of his native land. To the ancient mind there was pathos in this phrase.

2. **quo:** adv.; like *Athenas*, to Athens. — **sed ut,** etc.: 'but in order to make use of the nearest place that chance offered in the attempt at regaining their country.' — **ex p.:** instead of *proximum*, with the thought of a *starting-point*. — **eo:** sc. *loco*. Here, the place of refuge is the *means* of recovery. — Similarly as here, Athenian exiles, on more than one occasion, made Thebes their base of operations. See VIII. 2, 1, n. (p. 47). 2. **eum:** sc. *diem*.

- quō māximī magistrātūs simul cōsuērānt epulārī.
- 3 Māgnae saepe rēs nōn ita magnīs cōpiīs sunt gestae, sed profectō numquam tam ab tenuī initiō tantae opēs sunt prōfligātae. Nam duodecim adulēscētulī coiērunt ex eīs quī exsiliō erant multātī, cum omnīnō nōn essent amplius centum quī tantō sē offerrent periculō. Quā paucitāte perculsa est Lacedaemoniōrum potentia.
- 4 Eīenim nōn magis adversāriōrum factiōnī quam Spartānis eō tempore bellum intulērunt, quī princīpēs erant tōtīus Graeciae; quōrum imperī māiestās, neque ita multō post, Leuctricā pūgnā ab hōc initiō perculsa
- 5 concidit. Illī igitur duodecim, quōrum dux erat Pelopidās, Athēnis interdiū, ut vesperāscēte caelō Thēbās possent pervenīre, cum canibus vēnaticīs exiērunt, rētia ferentēs, vestītū agrestī, quō minōre sūspiciōne facerent iter. Quī cum tempore ipsō quō studuerant pervēnissent, domum Charōnis dēvertērunt, ā quō et tempus et diēs erat datus.
- 8 Hōc lōcō libet interpōnere, etsī sēiunctum ab rē prōpositā est, nimia fidūcia quantae calamitātī soleat esse. Nam magistrātuom Thēbānōrum statim ad aurēs pervēnit exsulēs in urbem vēnisse. Id illī vīnō epulisque deditī ūsque eō dēspexērunt ut nē quaerere quidem dē tantā rē laborārīnt. Accēssit quod etiam magis aperīret eōrum dēmentiam. Allāta est enim epistula Athēnis ab Archiā, ūnō ex eīs quī sacrīs praeerant Eleusiniīs, Archiae, quī tum māximum magistrātum Thēbīs obtinēbat, in quā omnia dē profectiōne eōrum perscripta erant. Quae cum iam accubantī in conviviō esset data,

2. 5. *retia*: *nets*, for taking game.

3. 'At this point I desire to remark in passing, though it be foreign to my subject.' 2. *accessit quod*: 'there was a further circumstance that.'

sicut erat signata, sub pulvinum subiciens, 'In crastinum' inquit 'differo res serias.' At illi omnes, cum iam nox processisset, vinolenti ab exsulibus duce Pelopida sunt interfecti. Quibus rebus confectis, vulgo ad arma libertatemque vocato, non solum qui in urbe erant sed etiam undique ex agris concurrerunt, praesidium Lacedaemoniorum ex arce pepulerunt, patriam obsidione liberarunt, auctores Cadmae occupandae partim occiderunt, partim in exilium eiecērunt.

Hoc tam turbido tempore, sicut supra docuimus, Epaminondas, quoad cum civibus dimicatum est, domi quietus fuit. Itaque haec liberatarum Thebarum propria laus est Pelopidae, ceterae ferē communēs cum Epaminondā. Namque in Leutricā pugna, imperatore Epaminondā, hic fuit dux delectae manus quae prima phalangem prostravit Lacōnum. Omnibus praeterea periculis eius affuit (sicut Spartam cum oppugnavit alterum tenuit cornū), quoque Messēna celerius restitueretur, legatus in Persās est profectus. Denique haec fuit altera persona Thebis, sed tamen secunda ita, ut proxima esset Epaminondae.

Conflictatus autem est etiam adversā fortunā. Nam et initio, sicut ostendimus, exsul patriā caruit, et cum Thessaliam in potestatem Thebanorum cuperet redigere legationisque iure satis tectum se arbitraretur, quod apud omnes gentes sanctum esse consuēset, a tyrannō

3. 2 sicut erat s.: i.e., with the seal unbroken.

4. supra: XV. 10, 3 (p. 91). 2. delectae m.: the Sacred Band, 300 in number. 3. alterum, etc.: Pelopidas held the command of one wing of the besieging army. — Messēna: see XV. 8, 5, n. (p. 90). — haec: instead of hic; adapted in form to persona. 'In short, here was another preëminent figure.' — Though second to Epaminondas, Pelopidas stood very near to him, the writer goes on to say.

5. etiam: yet again; et iam.

- Alexandrō Pheraeo simul cum Ismēniā comprehēnsus,
 2 in vincla coniectus est. Hunc Epaminōndās recupe-
 rāvit, bellō persecuēns Alexandrum. Post id factum
 numquam animō placārī potuit in eum ā quō erat vio-
 lātus. Itaque persuāsit Thēbānis ut subsidio Thessaliae
 3 proficiscerentur tyrannōsque eius expellerent. Cūius
 bellī cum eī summa esset data eoque cum exercitū pro-
 fectus esset, nōn dubitāvit simul ac cōspexit hostem
 4 cōnfligere. In quō proeliō Alexandrum ut animadver-
 tit, incēsus irā equom in eum concitāvit, proculque
 digressus ā suis coniectū tēlōrum cōfossus concidit.
 Atque hōc secundā victoriā accidit; nam iam inclinātae
 5 erant tyrannōrum cōpiae. Quō factō omnēs Thessa-
 liae civitatēs interfectum Pelopidam corōnis aureis et
 statuīs aēneis liberōsque eius multō agrō dōnārunt.

XVII.

AGESILAUS.

- 1 Agēsilāus Lacedaemonius cum ā cēteris scriptōri-
 bus tum eximiē a Xenophōnte Sōcraticō collaudātus
 2 est; eō enim ūsus est familiārissimē. Hic primum dē
 rēgnō cum Leōtychide, frātris filiō, habuit conten-
 tiōnem. Mōs erat enim Lacedaemoniīs ā māiōribus
 trāditus ut duōs habērent semper rēgēs, nōmine magis
 quam imperiō, ex duābus familiis Proclī et Eurysthenis,

5. *Pheraeo: of Pherae.* 3. *summa: sc. imperi.* 4. *secunda v.: in the moment of victory; secundus, from sequor.*

AGESILĀUS, B.C. 442-358. — 1. *Socratico: the companion of Socrates.*
 eo enim: Ages. was on the friendliest terms with Xenophon.

quī principēs ex prōgeniē Herculis Spartae rēgēs fuē-
runt. Hōrum ex alterā in alterius familiae locum 3
fieri nōn licēbat; ita suom utraque retinēbat ōrdinem.
Prīmum ratiō habēbātur, quī māximus nātū esset ex
liberis eius quī rēgnāns dēcēssisset; sīn is virile
secus nōn reliquisset, tum dēligēbātur quī proximus
esset propinquitāte. Mortuos erat Āgis rēx, frāter
Agēsilāi; filium reliquerat Leōtychidem, quem ille 4
nātum nōn āgnōrat, eundem moriēns suom esse dixerat.
Is dē honōre rēgnī cum Agēsilāō, patruō suō, contendit
neque id quod petivit cōsecūtus est. Nam Lysandrō 5
suffrāgante, homine, ut ostendimus suprā, factiōsō et eis
temporibus potente, Agēsilāus antelātus est.

Hīc simulatque imperī potītus est, persuāsit Lace- 2
daemoniis ut sē cum exercitū mitterent in Asiam
bellumque rēgī facerent, docēns satius esse in Asiā
quam in Eurōpā dīmicārī. Namque fāma exierat,
Artaxerxēn comparāre clāssēs pedestrēsque exercitūs,
quōs in Graeciam mitteret. Datā potestāte, tantā 2
celeritāte ūsus est ut prius in Asiam cum cōpiis per-
vēnerit quam rēgīi satrapae eum scīrent profectum.
Quō factum est ut omnēs imparātōs imprudentēsque
offenderet. Id ut cōgnōvit Tissaphernēs, quī summum 3
imperium tum inter praefectōs habēbat rēgiōs, indū-
tiās ā Lacōne petīvit, simulāns sē dare operam ut

1. 2. *principes*: 'the original two.' The story was that they were twins, both made kings in obedience to an oracle. 3. *fieri*: *sc. regem*. A member of one of the houses might not succeed to a vacancy in the other. 4. *natum*: 'at the time of his birth.' 5. *suffragante*: 'by the support of.'

2. 2. *imprudentes*: see XIV. 4, 3, n. (p. 74). — *offenderet*: *caught*. 3. *indutias*: *a truce*. — *ut . . . conveniret*: *impers.*; 'to bring about an agreement' between the two parties. — *eas*: *sc. indutias*; 'gained one for three months.'

- Lacedaemoniis cum rēge conveniret, rē autem vērā ad cōpiās comparandās; easque impetrāvit trimēstrēs.
- 4 Iūrāvit autem uterque sē sine dolō indūtiās cōservātūrum. In quā pactiōne summā fidē mānsit Agēsilaus; contrā ea, Tissaphernēs nihil aliud quam bellum com-
- 5 parāvit. Id etsī sentiēbat Lacō, tamen iūsiūrandum servābat multumque in eō sē cōsequi dicēbat, quod Tissaphernēs periūriō suō et hominēs suis rēbus abaliēnāret et deōs sibi irātōs redderet; sē autem cōservātā religiōne cōfirmāre exercitum, cum animadverteret deūm nūmen facere sēcum hominēsque sibi conciliārī amīciōrēs, quod eis studēre cōsuēssent quōs cōservāre fidem vidērent.
- 8 Postquam indūtiārum praeteriit diēs, barbarus nōn dubitāns, quod ipsiūs erant plūrima domicilia in Cāriā et ea regiō eis temporibus multō putābātur locuplētissima, eō potissimum hostēs impetum factūrōs, omnēs
- 2 suās cōpiās eō contrāxerat. At Agēsilaus in Phrygiam sē convertit eamque prius dēpopulātus est quam Tissaphernēs ūsquam sē movēret. Māgnā praedā militibus locuplētātis, Ephesum hiemātum exercitum redūxit atque ibi, officiīs armōrum institūtis, māgnā industriā bellum apparāvit. Et quō studiōsius armārentur insignisque ōrnārentur, praemia prōposuit, quibus donārentur quōrum ēgregia in eā rē fuisset industria. Fēcit
- 3 idem in exercitātiōnum generibus, ut, quī cēteris praestitissent, eōs māgnis afficeret mūneribus. His igitur rēbus effēcit ut et ōrnatissimum et exercitātissimum

2. 5. in eo: 'by so doing.'—deūm: *deorum*.—facere secum: *i.e., stare ab se*; cf. XIV. 6, 6, n. (p. 77).

3. domicilia: *palaces*. 2. hiematum: *supine*.—quorum: *ei quorum*.

habēret exercitum. Huic cum tempus esset vīsum 4
 cōpiās extrahere ex hibernāculis, vidit, si quō esset iter
 factūrus palam prōnūtiāset, hostēs nōn crēditūrōs
 aliāsque regiōnēs praesidiis occupātūrōs neque dubitā-
 tūrōs aliud eum factūrum ac prōnūtiāset. Itaque 5
 cum ille Sardēs itūrum sē dixisset, Tissaphernēs eandem
 Cāriam dēfendendam putāvit. In quō cum eum opiniō
 fefellisset victumque sē vīdisset cōnsiliō, sērō suīs
 praesidiō profectus est. Nam cum illō vēnisset, iam
 Agēsilaus, multis locis expūgnātis, magnā erat praedā
 potītus. Lacō autē cum vidēret hostēs equitatū 6
 superāre, numquam in campō suī fēcit potestātem, et
 eis locis manum cōseruit quibus plūs pedestrēs cōpiae
 valērent. Pepulit ergō quotiēnscumque congressus est
 multō māiōrēs adversāriōrum cōpiās, et sic in Asiā
 vēsātus est ut omnium opiniōne victor dūceretur.

Hic cum iam animō meditārētur proficisci in Persās 4
 et ipsum rēgem adoriri, nūntius ei domō vēnit epho-
 rōrum missū, bellum Athēniēnsēs et Boeōtōs indixisse
 Lacedaemoniis; quārē venire nē dubitāret. In hōc 2
 nōn minus eius pietās sūspicienda est quam virtūs
 bellica; quī cum victōri praeesset exercituī māximam-
 que habēret fidūciam rēgni Persārum potiundī, tantā
 modestiā dictō audiēns fuit iūssis absentium magistrā-
 tuom ut si privātus in comitiō esset Spartaē. Cūius
 exemplum utinam imperātōrēs nostrī sequi voluissent!
 Sed illūc redeāmus. Agēsilaus opulentissimō rēgnō 3

3. 5.. eandem C.: see 1. The same region where he had expected an attack before, but had been disappointed. — illo: *illuc*. 6. sui fecit p.: 'exposed himself to attack.' — manum conserere, 'to join battle.'

4. 2. pietas: 'patriotic sense of duty.' — suspicienda: 'must be held in regard'; cf. X. 1, 5, n. (p. 55). — nostri: as, for example, when Caesar crossed the Rubicon.

- praeposuit bonam existimatiōnem, multōque glōriōsius
 dūxit sī institutis patriae pāruisset quam sī bellō supe-
 4 rāset Asiam. Hāc igitur mente Hellēspontum cōpiās
 trāiēcit tantāque ūsus est celeritāte, ut, quod iter
 Xerxēs annō vertente cōnfēcerat, hīc trānsierit tri-
 5 gintā diēbus. Cum iam haud ita longē abesset ā Pelo-
 ponnēsō, obsistere eī cōnātī sunt Athēniēnsēs et Boeōtī
 cēterique eōrum socii apud Corōnēam; quōs omnēs
 6 gravī proeliō vicit. Hūius victōriae vel māxima fuit
 laus, quod, cum plērique ex fugā sē in templum Mi-
 nervae cōnēscissent, quaererēturque ab eō quid eīs vellet
 fieri, etsī aliquot volnera accēperat eō proeliō, et irā-
 tus vidēbātur omnibus quī adversus arma tulerant,
 tamen antetulit irae religiōnem et eōs vetuit violārī.
 7 Neque vērō hōc solum in Graeciā fēcit, ut templa
 deōrum sāncta habēret, sed etiam apud barbarōs
 summā religiōne omnia simulācra ārāsque cōservāvit.
 8 Itaque praedicābat, mirārī sē nōn sacrilegōrum numerō
 habērī quī supplicibus deōrum nocuissent, aut nōn gra-
 viōribus poenīs affici quī religiōnem minuerent quam
 quī fāna spoliārent.
- 5 Post hōc proelium collātum omne bellum est circā
 2 Corinthum ideōque Corinthium est appellātum. Hīc
 cum ūnā pūgnā decem mīlia hostium Agēsilāo duce
 cecidissent eōque factō opēs adversāriōrum debilitatae
 vidērentur, tantum āfuit ab insolentiā glōriae ut com-
 miserātus sit fōrtūnam Graeciae, quod tam multī ā
 sē victī vitiō adversāriōrum concidissent; namque illā

4. 3. *institutis*: *legibus*. 4. *anno vertente*: but II. 5, 2, *sex mensibus*. 5. *proelio*: the battle of Coronēa, B.C. 394. 7. *ut* . . . *haberet*: explains *hoc*. 8. *sacrilegorum*: defined by *qui fana spoliarent*, below.—*qui*: *eos qui* (twice).—*religionem m.*: ‘impaired the respect paid to religion.’

multitūdine, sī sāna mēns esset, Graeciae supplicium Persās dare potuisse. Īdem cum adversāriōs intrā 3
moenia compulisset, et ut Corinthum oppugnāret multī hortārentur, negāvit id suae virtūtī convenīre; sē enim eum esse quī ad officium peccantēs redire cōgeret, nōn quī urbēs nōbilissimās expugnāret Graeciae. 'Nam sī' inquit 'eōs exstinguere voluerimus 4
quī nōbiscum adversus barbarōs stetērunt, nōsmet ipsī nōs expugnāverimus illis quiescentibus. Quō factō sine negōtiō, cum voluerint, nōs oppriment.'

Interim accidit illa calamitās apud Leuctra Lacedaemoniīs. Quō nē proficīsceretur, cum ā plērisque ad exeundum premeretur, ut sī dē exitū divināret, excūsāvit senectūtem. Īdem, cum Epaminōndās Spartam oppugnāret essetque sine mūrīs oppidum, tālem sē imperātōrem prae-buit ut eō tempore omnibus appāruerit, nisi ille fuisset, Spartam futūram nōn fuisse. In quō quidem discrimine celeritās eius cōsiliī salūtī fuit universis. Nam cum quīdam adulēscētulī, hostium adventū perterritī, ad Thēbānōs trānsfugere vel- 2
lent et locum extrā urbem ēditum cēpissent, Agēsilāus, quī perniciosissimum fore vidēret sī animadversum esset quemquam ad hostēs trānsfugere cōnārī, cum suis eō vēnit atque ut sī bonō animō fēcissent laudāvit cōnsilium eōrum, quod eum locum occupāssent; id sē quoque fieri debere animadvertisse. Sic adulēscētēs 3

5. 2. *si sana, etc.*: 'if sound counsels had prevailed' among the Greek states. 3. *suae virtuti c.*: 'was consistent with his character.' — *eum qui, etc.*: 'the man to.'

6. *illa c.*: 'the great defeat.' — *nisi, etc.*: people said, 'Had it not been for Agesilaus, it would have been all over with Sparta (*S. non fuisset*). Cf. IX. 1, 3 (p. 50); 2, 3. 2. *editum*: *elevated*. — *bono a.*: 'with the best of intentions.' — *id, etc.*: 'he had himself observed (he said) that the thing ought to be done.'

simulātā laudātiōne recuperāvit, et adiūctīs dē suis comitibus locum tūtum reliquit. Namque illī, adiectō numerō eōrum quī expertēs erant cōsiliī, commovēre nōn sunt ausī, eoque libentius, quod latēre arbitrābantur quae cōgitāverant.

- 7 Sine dubiō post Leutricam pūgnam Lacedaemoniī sē numquam refēcērunt neque pristinū imperiū recuperārunt, cum interim numquam Agēsilaūs dēstitit
- 2 quibuscumque rēbus posset patriam iuvāre. Nam cum praecipuē Lacedaemoniī indigērent pecūniā, ille omnibus quī ā rēge dēfēcērant praesidiō fuit; ā quibus
- 3 māgnā dōnātus pecūniā patriam sublevāvit. Atque in hōc, illud in primīs fuit admīrābile, cum māxima mūnera ei ab rēgibus ac dynastīs cīvitātibusque cōnferrentur, quod nihil umquam domum suam contulit, nihil dē victū, nihil dē vestītū Lacōnum mūtāvit.
- 4 Domō eādē fuit contentus quā Eurysthenēs, prōgenitor māiōrum suōrum, fuerat ūsus: quam quī intrārat, nūllum sīgnū libīdinis, nūllum lūxuriaē vidēre poterat; contrā ea, plūrima patientiae atque abstinentiae. Sic enim erat instrūcta ut in nūllā rē differret ā cuiusvis inopis atque privātī.
- 8 Atque hīc tantus vir, ut nātūrā fautrīcem habuerat in tribuendīs animī virtūtibus, sic maleficam nactus est in corpore fingendō; nam et statūrā fuit humili et corpore exiguō et claudus alterō pede. Quae rēs etiam

6. 3. *adiunctis*: sc. quibusdam. — *eoque* l.: sc. non commoverunt. — *quae c.*: *cogitata sua*.

7. *cum*: *though*. 4. *libidinis*: *extravagance*. — *a cuiusvis*: sc. *domo*. 8. *maleficam* n.: 'found her against him.' — *claudus*: an oracle had warned the Spartans to 'beware of a lame reign.' Lysander is said to have interpreted this against Leotychides, in his contest with Agēsilaūs, as meaning a reign not in the genuine line of descent from Hercules. See 1, 2.

nōnnullam afferēbat dēfōrmitātem, atque Ignōtī, faciem
 ēius cum intuerentur, contemnēbant; quī autem vir-
 tūtēs nōverant, nōn poterant admirārī satis. Quod
 eī ūsū vēnit cum annōrum octōgintā subsidiō Tachō 2
 in Aegyptum missus esset et in actā cum suis accu-
 buisset sine ūllō tēctō, strātumque habēret tāle ut
 terra tēcta esset strāmentis neque hūc amplius quam
 pellis esset iniecta, eōdemque comitēs omnēs accubuis-
 sent, vestitū humili atque obsolētō, ut eōrum ōrnātus
 nōn modo in eīs rēgem nēminem sīgnificāret, sed
 hominēs esse nōn beātissimōs sūspiciōnem praeberet.
 Huius dē adventū fāma cum ad rēgiōs esset perlāta, 3
 celeriter mūnera eō cūiusque generis sunt allāta.
 His quaerentibus Agēsilāum, vix fidēs facta est ūnum
 esse ex eīs quī tum accubābant. Quī cum rēgis verbis 4
 quae attulerant dedissent, ille praeter vitulinam et
 ēiusmodī genera obsonī, quae praesēns tempus dēsī-
 derābat, nihil accēpit; unguenta, corōnās, secundamque
 mēnsam servīs dispertiit, cētera referri iussit. Quō 5
 factō eum barbarī magis etiam contempsērunt, quod
 eum Ignōrantiā bonārum rērum illa potissimum sūmp-
 sisse arbitrābantur.

Hic cum ex Aegyptō reverterētur, dōnātus ā rēge 6
 Nectanabide ducentis vīginti talentis, quae ille mūneri

8. 1. *ignoti*: *strangers*.—*faciem*: *figure*. 2. *usu venit*: *accidit*.—*annorum o.*: 'at the age of 80.' Tachus, king of Egypt.—*acta*: ἀκτῆ, 'beach.'—*ut, etc.*: *explaining tale*. We should say, 'a bed made by covering the ground with straw, etc.'—*huc*: *super stramenta*.—*obsoleto*: *worn out*.—*non b.*: more pointed than *pauperrimos*; 'anything but well off.' 3. *regios*: *the king's men*.—*vix fides f.*: 'they could scarcely be made to believe.' 4. *regis v.*: 'in the name of the king.' Cf. II. 4, 3 (p. 14).—*vitulinam*: *sc. carnem*; 'veal.'—*secundam m.*: 'second course.' The delicacies and garniture of the repast might do for servants, but not for Spartans. 6. Nectanabis overthrew Tachus, with the help of Agesilaus.

- populō suō daret, vēnissetque in portum quī Menelāi vocātur, iacēns inter Cŷrēnās et Aegyptum, in morbum
 7 implicitus dēcēssit. Ibi eum amīcī, quō Spartam facilius perferre possent, quod mel nōn habēbant, cērā circumfūdērunt atque ita domum rettulērunt.

XVIII.

EUMENES.

- 1 Eumenēs Cardīanus. Hūius sī virtūtī pār data esset fōrtūna, nōn ille quidem māior exstītisset, quod māgnōs hominēs virtūte mētīmur nōn fōrtūnā, sed
 2 multō illūstrior atque etiam hōnōrātior. Nam cum aetās ēius incidisset in ea tempora quibus Macedonēs flōrērent, multum eī dētrāxit inter eōs vīventī quod aliēnae erat cīvītātis; neque aliud huīc dēfuit quam
 3 generōsa stirps. Etsī enim domesticō summō genere erat, tamen Macedonēs eum sibi aliquandō antepōnī indignē ferēbant. Neque tamen nōn patiēbantur; vincēbat enim omnēs vigilantīā, patientīā, calliditāte, et celeritāte ingeni.
- 4 Hic peradulēscēntulus ad amicitiam accēssit Philippi, Amyntae fili, brevīque tempore in intimam pervēnit familiāritatem; fulgēbat enim iam in adulēscēntulō indolēs virtūtis. Itaque eum habuit ad manum scribae locō, quod multō apud Grāiōs hōnōrificēntius est quam

8. 7. For want of honey they embalmed the body in wax.

EUMENES, B.C. 363-316. — 1. Of Cardia, in the Thracian Chersonese. — *quidem*: *to be sure*. 3. *domesticō*: 'in his own country.' — *neque*, etc.: 'they could not help it, however.' 5. *ad manum*: 'at his side.'

apud Rōmānōs. Namque apud nōs, rē vērā sicut sunt, 5
mercennārii scribae existimantur; at apud illōs ē con-
trāriō, nēmō ad id officium admittitur nisi honestō locō
et fidē et industriā cōgnitā, quod necesse est omnium
cōnsiliōrum eum esse participem. Hunc locum tenuit 6
amīcitiae apud Philippum annōs septem. Illō inter-
fectō, eōdem gradū fuit apud Alexandrum annōs tre-
decim. Novissimō tempore praefuit etiam alterae
equitum ālae, quae Hetaericē appellābatur. Utrīque
autem in cōnsiliō semper affuit et omnium rērum
habitus est particeps.

Alexandrō Babylōne mortuō, cum rēgna singulis 2
familiāribus dispertirentur, et summa rērum trādita
esset tuenda eīdem cui Alexander moriēns ānulum
suom dederat, Perdiccae; ex quō omnēs coniēcerant 2
eum rēgnum eī commīsisse, quoad liberī eius in suam
tūtēlam pervēnissent; aberat enim Crateros et Anti-
pater, quī antecēdere hunc vidēbantur; mortuos erat
Hēphaestiō, quem ūnum Alexander (quod facile in-
tellegī posset) plūrimī fēcerat: hōc tempore data est
Eumenī Cappadocia, sive potius dicta; nam tum in 3
hostium erat potestāte. Hunc sibi Perdiccās adiūnx-
erat māgnō studiō, quod in homine fidem et industriam
māgnam vidēbat, nōn dubitāns, sī eum pellexisset,
māgnō ūsuī fore sibi in eīs rēbus quās apparābat.

1. 5. *h. loco*: *h. genere*. 6. The death of Philip and accession of Alexander the Great, B.C. 336. — *alterae*: *alteri*. — *Hetaerice*: *ἑταίρικῃ* ('of the Companions'); Cavalry of the Guard. Eum. commanded one of its two squadrons. — *affuit*: *attended*; cf. IV. 3, 2 (p. 25); X. 1, 3.

2. *mortuo*: B.C. 323. — *summa*: *sc. rerum*; cf. 5, 1. 2. *in s. tute-
lam p.*: *should attain to their majority*. Alexander's sons were both murdered twelve years after the death of their father. — *unum*: *to enforce the superlative notion in plurimi*; cf. I. 1, 1. For the gen., cf. XI. 3, 4 (p. 64); XIII. 4, 3 (p. 71). — *dicta*; *assigned*.

- Cōgitābat enim, quod ferē omnēs in māgnīs imperiīs concupiscunt, omnium partēs corripere atque complecti. Neque vērō hōc ille sōlus fēcit, sed cēteri quoque omnēs quī Alexandrī fuerant amicī. Primus Leonnātus Macedoniam praeoccupāre dēstināvit. Is multis māgnisque pollicitātiōnibus persuādere Eumenī studuit ut Perdiccam dēsereret ac sēcum faceret societātem. Cum perducere eum nōn posset, interficere cōnātus est; et fēcisset nisi ille clam noctū ex praesidiīs ēius effūgisset.
- Interim cōflāta sunt illa bella quae ad interneciōnem post Alexandrī mortem gesta sunt, omnēsque concurrerunt ad Perdiccam opprimendum. Quem etsi infirmum vidēbat, quod ūnus omnibus resistere cōgēbātur, tamen amicum nōn dēseruit neque salutis quam fidei fuit cupidior. Praefēcerat hunc Perdiccās ei partī Asiae quae inter Taurum montem iacet atque Hellēspontum, et illum ūnum opposuerat Eurōpaeis adversāriīs; ipse Aegyptum oppugnātum adversus Ptolemaeum erat profectus. Eumenēs cum neque māgnās cōpiās neque firmās habēret, quod et inexercitatae et nōn multō ante erant contrāctae, adventāre autem dicerentur Hellēspontumque trānsisse Antipater et Crateros, māgnō cum exercitū Macedonum, viri cum clāritāte tum ūsū bellī praestantēs (Macedonēs vērō milītēs eā tum erant fāmā quā nunc Rōmānī feruntur; etenim semper habitī sunt fortissimī quī summā imperī potirentur); Eumenēs intellegēbat, si cōpiae suae cōgnōssent adversus quōs dūcerentur, nōn modo nōn itūrās sed simul cum nūntiō dilāpsūrās.

3. 2. *Aegyptum*: obj. of *oppugnatum*. 4. *simul cum n.*: 'as soon as they heard of it.'

Itaque hōc ei vīsum est prūdētissimū, ut dēviis 5
 itineribus milites dūceret, in quibus vērā audire nōn
 possent, et eis persuādēret sē contrā quōsdam barbarōs
 proficisci. Atque tenuit hōc prōpositum, et prius in 6
 aciem exercitum edūxit proeliumque commisit quam
 milites sui scirent cum quibus arma cōferrent. Effē-
 cit etiam illud locōrum praeoccupātiōne, ut equitatū
 potius dīmīcāret, quō plūs valēbat, quam peditatū, quō
 erat dēterior.

Quōrum acerrimō concursū cum māgnam partem 4
 diē esset pūgnātum, cadit Crateros dux, et Neoptole-
 mus quī secundum locum imperī tenēbat. Cum hōc 2
 concurrit ipse Eumenēs. Quī cum inter sē complexi
 in terram ex equis dēcidissent, ut facile intellegi pos-
 sent inimicā mente contendisse animōque magis etiam
 pūgnāsse quam corpore, nōn prius distrācti sunt quam
 alterum anima relinqueret. Ab hōc aliquot plāgis
 Eumenēs volnerātur, neque eō magis ex proeliō excēs-
 sit, sed ācrius hostibus īstitit. Hīc, equitibus prō 3
 fligātis, interfectō duce Craterō, multis praetereā et
 māximē nōbilibus captis, pedester exercitus, quod in
 ea loca erat dēductus ut invītō Eumene elābi nōn
 posset, pācem ab eō petiit. Quam cum impetrāsset, in
 fidē nōn mānsit et sē simul ac potuit ad Antipatrum
 recēpit. Eumenēs Craterum ex aciē sēmivivom elātum 4
 recreāre studuit; cum id nōn posset, prō hominis
 dignitatē prōque pristinā amicitia (namque illō ūsus
 erat Alexandrō vivō familiāriter) amplō fūnere extulit
 ossaque in Macedoniam uxōri eius ac liberis remisit.

4. *cadit*: anticipates the narrative. 2. *complexi*: *closing*; cf. XV. 2, 5 (p. 84.). — *alterum*: Neoptolemus. Hence *ab hoc*. 3. *ea loca*: 'such a position.' 4. *usus erat*: cf. XVII. 1, 1. — *amplo*: *honorable*.

- 5 Haec dum apud Hellēspontum geruntur, Perdiccās apud Nilum flūmen interficitur ā Seleucō et Antigene rerūque summa ad Antipatrum dēfertur. Hic, quī nōn dēseruerant, exercitū suffrāgium ferente, capitis absentēs damnantur; in eīs Eumenēs. Hāc ille percussus plāgā nōn succubuit neque eō sētius bellum administrāvit. Sed exilēs rēs animī māgnitudinem
- 2 etsī nōn frangēbant tamen minuēbant. Hunc persequēns Antigonus, cum omnī genere cōpiārum abundāret, saepe in itineribus vexābātur, neque umquam ad manum accēdere licēbat nisi eīs locīs quibus paucī
- 3 multīs possent resistere. Sed extrēmō tempore, cum cōsiliō capī nōn posset, multitudīne circumitus est. Hinc tamen, multīs suis amissīs, sē expedit et in castellum Phrygiae quod Nōra appellātur cōnfūgit.
- 4 In quō cum circumsedērēt et verērēt nē ūnō locō manēns equōs militārēs perderet, quod spatium nōn esset agitandī, callidum fuit eius inventum, quemadmodum stāns iūmentum concalfieri exercērīque posset, quō libentius et cibō ūterēt et ā corporis mōtū
- 5 nōn removērēt. Substringēbat caput lōrō altius quam ut priōribus pedibus plānē terram posset attingere, deinde post verberibus cōgēbat exsultāre et calcēs
- 6 remittere; quī mōtus nōn minus sūdōrem excutiēbat quam sī in spatiō dēcurreret. Quō factum est, quod omnibus mirābile est vīsum, ut aequē iūmenta nitida

5. non d.: sc. *Perdiccam*. Cf. 2, 4, end; 3, 1, end. — *exercitu s. f.*: i.e., by court-martial. — *percussus*: 'staggered.' — *exiles r.*: *straitened means*. 2. *ad manum a.*: cf. *m. conserere*, XVII. 3, 6, n. (p. 99). 3. *consilio*: *strategy*. 4. *inventum*: *device*. — *stans*: i.e. while in the stall or stable; not running. — *iumentum*: properly, 'yoke-animal'; here, horse. *concalferi*: *warmed up*. 5. *altius quam ut*: *too high to*. — *plane*: *squarely*. — *post*: *adv.*; *opp. to caput*.

ex castellō ēdūceret, cum complūrēs mēnsēs in obsi-
diōne fuisset, ac sī in campestribus ea locīs habuisset.
In hāc conclusiōne, quotiēscumque voluit, apparātum 7
et mūnitiōnēs Antigoni aliās incendit, aliās disiēcit.
Tenuit autem sē unō locō quamdiū hiēms fuit, quod
castra sub divō habēre nōn poterat. Vēr appropinquā-
bat; simulatā dēditiōne, dum de condiōnibus trāctat,
praefectis Antigoni imposuit sēque ac suōs omnēs
extrāxit incolumēs.

Ad hunc Olympias, māter quae fuerat Alexandri, 6
cum litterās et nūtiōs mīsisset in Asiam, cōnsultum
utrum rēgnum repetitum in Macedoniam venīret (nam
tum in Ēpirō habitābat) et eās rēs occupāret, huic 2
ille primum suāsīt nē sē movēret et exspectāret quoad
Alexandri filius rēgnum adipisceretur; sīn aliquā
cupiditate raperetur in Macedoniam, oblivisceretur
omnium iniuriarum et in nēminem acerbiorē ūteretur
imperio. Hōrum illa nihil fēcit; nam et in Macedo- 3
niam profecta est et ibi crudēlissimē sē gessit. Petiit
autem ab Eumene absente, nē pateretur Philippī
domūs ac familiae inimicissimōs stirpem quoque in-
terimere ferretque opem liberis Alexandri. Quam 4
veniam sī daret, quam primum exercitūs parāret, quōs
sibi subsidio addūceret. Id quō facilius faceret, sē
omnibus praefectis quī in officio manēbant mīsisse
litterās, ut eī pārērent eiusque cōsiliis ūterentur.
His rēbus Eumenēs permōtus, satius dūxit, sī ita 5

5. 7. *conclusionē: obsidione.*—*alias:* adv.—*sub divo:* in the open air.

6. 2. *exspectaret:* wait.—*sīn:* the alternative to *primum* ('if possible'), above.—*oblivisceretur:* still dep. on *suasit*. 4. *se, etc.:* Olympias said, *praefectis misi litteras ut tibi pareant, etc.*

tulisset fōrtūna, perīre bene meritīs referentem grā-
tiam quam ingrātum vīvere.

- 7 Itaque cōpiās contrāxit, bellum adversus Antigo-
num comparāvit. Quod ūnā erant Macedonēs com-
plūrēs nōbilēs, in eis Peucestēs, quī corporis cūstōs
fuerat Alexandrī, tum autem obtinēbat Persidem, et
Antigenēs, cūius sub imperiō phalanx erat Macedo-
num; invidiam verēns (quam tamen effugere nōn
potuit) sī potius ipse aliēnigena summī imperī potirē-
tur quam aliquis Macedonum, quōrum ibi erat multi-
2 tūdō, in principiis, Alexandrī nōmine, tabernāculum
statuit in eōque sēllam auream cum scēptrō ac diadē-
mate iūssit pōnī eōque omnēs cottidiē convenīre, ut ibi
dē summīs rēbus cōnsilia caperentur, crēdēns minōre
sē invidiā fore sī speciē imperī nōminisque simulā-
3 tiōne Alexandrī bellum vidēretur administrāre. Quod
effēcit; nam cum nōn ad Eumenis principiā sed ad
rēgia convenirētur atque ibi dē rēbus dēliberārētur,
quōdam modō latēbat, cum tamen per eum ūnum gere-
rentur omnia.
- 8 Hic in Paraetacīs cum Antigōnō cōnflīxit, nōn acie
instrūctā sed in itinere, eumque male acceptum in
Mēdiam hiemātum cōēgit redīre. Ipse in finitimā
regiōne Persidis hiemātum cōpiās dīvisit, nōn ut voluit,
2 sed ut mīlitum cōgēbat voluntās. Namque illa pha-
lanx Alexandrī Māgnī quae Asiam peragrārat dēvi-
ceratque Persās, inveterātā cum glōriā tum etiam
licentiā, nōn pārere sē ducibus sed imperāre pōstulā-

7. **phalanx**: the regular designation of the native Macedonian infantry. 2. **in principiis**: in the middle of the camp. 3. **principia**: headquarters.

8. **male acceptum**: roughly handled.

bat, ut nunc veterānī faciunt nostrī. Itaque periculum est nē faciant quod illī fēcērunt, suā intemperantiā nimīaque licentiā ut omnia perdant, neque minus eōs cum quibus steterint quam adversus quōs fēcērunt. Quodsī quis illōrum veterānōrum legat facta, paria 3 hōrum cōgnōscat, neque rem ūllam nisi tempus interesse iūdicet. Sed ad illōs revertar. Hiberna sūmpserant, nōn ad ūsum bellī sed ad ipsōrum lūxuriam, longēque inter sē discēsserant. Hōc Antigonus cum 4 comperisset intellexeretque sē parem nōn esse parātis adversāriis, statuit aliquid sibi cōsili novī esse capiendum. Duae erant viae quā ex Mēdis ubi ille hiemābat ad adversāriōrum hibernācula posset pervenīrī. Quā 5 rum brevior per loca dēserta quae nēmō incolēbat propter aquae inopiam, cēterum diērum erat ferē decem; illa autem, quā omnēs commeābant, alterō tantō longiōrem habēbat ānfrāctum, sed erat cōpiōsa omniumque rērum abundāns. Hāc sī proficiscerētur, 6 intellegēbat prius adversāriōs rescītūrōs dē suō adventū quam ipse tertiam partem cōnfēcisset itineris; sīn per loca sōla contenderet, spērābat sē imprudentem hostem oppressūrum. Ad hanc rem cōficiendam 7 imperāvit quam plūrimōs ūtrēs atque etiam culleōs comparārī, post haec pābulum, praetereā cibāria cocta diērum decem, ut quam minimē fieret ignis in castris. Iter quō habeat, omnes cēlat. Sic parātus, quā cōstituerat proficiscitur.

8. 2. *nostrī*: at Rome. — *sua*, etc.: explains *quod illi f.* 3. *quodsi*: *si enim*. — *neque . . . interesse*: and that there is no difference between them except in time. — *discesserant*: cf. *divisit*, 1. 4. *paratis*: *si parati essent*. 5. *ceterum*: *but*. — *altero*, etc.: 'involved a circuitous route as long again.' 7. *utres*: *skins*, for carrying water; *cullei* were larger leathern sacks.

- 9 Dimidium ferē spatium cōnfēcerat, cum ex fūmō castrōrum eius sūspiciō allāta est ad Eumenem, hostem appropinquāre. Conveniunt ducēs, quaeritur quid opus sit factō. Intellegēbant omnēs tam celeriter cōpiās ipsōrum contrahī nōn posse quam Antigonus affutūrus vidēbātur. Hic, omnibus titubantibus et dē rēbus summīs dēspērantibus, Eumenēs ait, sī celeritatem velint adhibēre et imperāta facere, quod ante nōn fēcerint, sē rem expeditūrum. Nam quod iter diēbus quinque hostis trānsisse posset, sē effectūrum ut nōn minus totidem diērum spatiō retardārētur; quārē circumīrent, suās quisque contraheret cōpiās.
- 3 Ad Antigoni autem refrēnandum impetum tāle capit cōnsilium. Certōs mittit hominēs ad infimōs montēs quī obviī erant itinerī adversāriōrum, eisque praecipit ut primā nocte, quam lātissimē possint, ignēs faciant quam māximōs, atque hōs secundā vigiliā minuant, tertiā perexiguōs reddant, ut assimulatā castrōrum cōnsuetūdine sūspiciōnem inician hostibus, eis locīs esse castra ac dē eōrum adventū esse praenūtiātum;
- 5 idemque posterā nocte faciant. Quibus imperātum erat diligenter praeceptum cūrant. Antigonus tenebris obortīs ignēs cōspiciātur; crēdit dē suō adventū esse audītum et adversāriōs illūc suās contrāxisse cōpiās. Mūtāt cōnsilium, et quoniam imprudentēs adōriri nōn posset, flectit iter suum et illum ānfractum longiōrem cōpiōsae viae capit, ibique diem ūnum oppe-

9. *contrahi*: see 8, 1 and 3. 2. *titubantibus*, etc.: 'in trepidation, and ready to give up all for lost.' — *nam quod*: *for whereas*. — *transisse*: from Media into Persia. — Eumenes said, 'If the enemy can be here in five days, I will see that he is put five days back.' 3. *infimos m.*: *the foot of the mountains*. — *prima nocte*: *prima vigilia*.

ritur ad lassitudinem sēdandam militum ac reficienda iūmenta, quō integriōre exercitū dēcereret.

Sic Eumenēs callidum imperātorem vicit cōsiliō 10 celeritātemque impedivit eiūs; neque tamen multum profēcit. Nam invidiā ducum cum quibus erat, perfidiāque Macedonum veterānōrum, cum superior proeliō discēssisset, Antigonō est dēditus, cum exercitus ei ter ante sēparātis temporibus iūrāset sē eum dēfensūrum neque umquam dēsertūrum. Sed tantā fuit nōnnullōrum virtūtis obtrēctātiō, ut fidem āmittere mālent quam eum nōn perdere. Atque hunc Antigonus, cum 3 ei fuisset infēstissimus, cōservāset sī per suōs esset licitum, quod ab nullō sē plūs adiuvārī posse intellegēbat in eiīs rēbus quās impendēre iam appārēbat omnibus. Imminēbant enim Selenus, Lysimachus, Ptolemaeus, opibus iam valentēs, cum quibus ei dē summīs rēbus erat dīmicandum. Sed nōn passi sunt ei quī circā 4 erant, quod vidēbant Eumene receptō omnēs prae illō parvī futūrōs. Ipse autem Antigonus adeō erat incēnsus, ut nisi māgnā spē māximārum rērum lēniri nōn posset.

Itaque cum eum in cūstōdiam dedisset et praefectus 11 cūstōdum quaesisset quem ad modum servārī vellet, 'Ut ācerrimum' inquit 'leōnem aut ferōcissimum elephantum.' Nōndum enim statuerat, cōservāret eum necne. Veniēbat autem ad Eumenem utrumque genus 2 hominum, et quī propter odium fructum oculis ex eiūs cāsū capere vellent, et quī propter veterem amīci-

9. 6. *integriore*: *fresher*.

10. 2. *nonnullorum v. o.*: 'the jealousy which some felt against merit.' 3. *per suos*: *cf.* 4. — *de summīs rebus*: 'for empire.' 4. *Eumene*, *etc.*: *cf.* VII. 8, 4 (p. 42).

11. *necne*: (whether) or not.

- tiam colloqui cōsolārīque cuperent; multī etiam quī eius fōrmam cōgnōscere studēbant, quālis esset quem tam diū tamque valdē timuissent, cūius in perniciē
- 3 positam spem habuissent victōriæ. At Eumenēs cum diūtiūs in vinclis esset, ait Onomarchō, penes quem summa imperī erat cūstōdiæ, sē mirārī quārē iam tertium diem sic tenērētur; nōn enim hōc convenīre Antigoni prūdentiae, ut sic ūterētur dēvictō; quīn aut interfici aut missum fierī iubēret. Hic cum ferōcius
- 4 Onomarchō loqui vidērētur, 'Quid? tū' inquit 'animō sī istō erās, cūr nōn in proeliō cecidisti potius quam
- 5 in potestātem inimici venīrēs?' Huic Eumenēs, 'Utinam' inquit 'istud evēnisset! Sed eō nōn accidit, quod numquam cum fortiōre sum congressus; nōn enim cum quōquam arma contulī quīn is mihi succubuerit.' Neque id erat falsum; nōn enim virtūte hostium sed amicōrum perfidiā dēcidit. . . . Nam et dignitātē fuit honestā et vīribus ad labōrem ferendum firmis, neque tam māgnō corpore quam figurā venustā.
- 12 Dē hōc Antigonus cum sōlus cōstituere nōn audēret, ad cōsiliū rettulit. Hic, cum omnēs primō perturbāti admīrārentur nōn iam dē eō sūmptum esse supplicium, ā quō tot annōs adeō essent male habitī ut saepe ad dēspēratiōnem forent adductī; quīque māximos ducēs interfēcisset; dēnique in quō ūnō tantum esset, ut, quoad ille vīveret, ipsī sēcūrī esse nōn possent, interfectō nihil habitūrī negōtī essent; postrēmō, sī illi redderet salūtem, quaerēbant quibus amicis esset ūsūrus; sēsē enim cum Eumene apud eum nōn
- 3 futūrōs. Hic cōgnitā cōsiliī voluntāte, tamen ūsque

11. 3. *quin iuberet*: 'why not rather give orders.'

12. *male h.*: cf. *m. acceptum*, 8, 1. 2. *negoti*: trouble.

ad septimum diem dēlberandī sibi spatium reliquit. Tum autem, cum iam verēretur nē qua sēditio exercitūs orerētur, vetuit quemquam ad eum admittī, et cottidiānum victum removērī iūssit; nam negābat sē ei vim allātūrum cui aliquandō fuisset amicus. Hīc tamen nōn 4
amplius quam trīduom fame fatigātus, cum castra movērentur, insciente Antigōnō iugulātus est ā cūstōdibus.

Sic Eumenēs, annorum quīnque et quadrāgintā, 13
cum ab annō vicēsīmō, utī suprā ostendimus, septem annōs Philippō appāruisset, tredecim apud Alexandrum eundem locum obtinuisset, in eīs ūnum equitum ālae praefuisset, post autem Alexandrī Māgnī mortem imperātor exercitūs dūxisset, summōsque ducēs partim reppulisset, partim interfēcisset, captus nōn Antigōnī virtūte sed Macedonum periūriō, tālem habuit exitum vitāe. In quō quanta omnium fuerit opīniō 2
eōrum quī post Alexandrum Māgnum rēgēs sunt appellātī, ex hōc facillimē potest iūdicārī, quod quōrum nēmō Eumene vivō rēx appellātus est sed praefectus, eidem post hūius occāsū statim rēgium ōrnātum 3
nōmenque sūmpsērunt, neque, quod initio praedicārant, sē Alexandrī liberis rēgnū servāre, praestāre voluerunt, et hōc ūnō prōpūgnātōre sublātō, quid sentīrent aperuerunt. Hūius sceleris principēs fuērunt Antigonus, Ptolemaeus, Seleucus, Lysimachus, Cassandrus. Antigonus autem Eumenem mortuom propinquīs eius 4
sepliendum trādīdit. Ei militārī honestōque fūnere, comitante tōtō exercitū, humāvērunt ossaque eius in Cappadociam ad mātrem atque uxōrem liberōsque eius dēportanda cūrārunt.

13. annorum: cf. XVII. 8, 2 (p. 103). — *apparuiisset*: *scriba fuisset*.
apparitor = *secretary*.

XIX.

PHOCION.

- 1 Phōciōn Athēniēnsis etsī saepe exercitibus praefuit summōsque magistrātūs cēpit, tamen multō eius nōtior integritās vitāe quam rei militāris labor. Itaque hūius memoria est nūlla, illius autem māgna fāma, ex quō
- 2 cōgnōmine Bonus est appellātus. Fuit enim perpetuō pauper cum divitissimus esse posset propter frequentēs dēlātōs honōrēs potestātēsque summās quae ei ā populō
- 3 dabantur. Hīc cum ā rēge Philippō mūnera māgnae pecūniae repudiāret, lēgātique hortārentur accipere simulque admonērent, sī ipse eis facile carēret, liberis tamen suis prōspiceret, quibus difficile esset in summā paupertate tantam paternam tuērī glōriam, hīs ille ‘Sī mei similēs erunt, idem hīc’ inquit ‘agellus illōs alet quī mē ad hanc dignitatem perdūxit; sīn dissimilēs sunt futūrī, nōlō meis impēnsīs illōrum alī augērique lūxuriam.’
- 2 Idem cum prope ad annum octōgēsimum prōspērā pervēnisset fōrtūnā, extrēmīs temporibus māgnū in
- 2 odium pervēnit suōrum cīvium; primō quod cum Dēmādē dē urbe trādendā Antipatrō cōsēnserat, eiusque cōsiliō Dēmōsthenēs, cum cēterīs quī bene dē rē

PHOCION, B.C. 397-317. — 1. Bonus: *χρηστός*. 3. admonerent, etc.: the envoys said, *si tu . . . cares, liberis . . . tuis prospice, etc.* 4. agellus: diminutive of *ager*.

2. 2. Antipater overcame the Athenians in the Lamian War, B.C. 323-22. Phocion and Demades acted as envoys in settling the terms of capitulation.

pūblicā meritī exīstimābantur, populī scītō in exsiliū
 erant expulsī. Neque in eō solum offenderat quod
 patriae male cōsulerat, sed etiam quod amicitiae
 fidem nōn praestiterat. Namque auctus adiūtusque 3
 ā Dēmosthene eum quem tenēbat āscenderat gradum,
 cum adversus Charētem eum subōrnāret; ab eōdem
 in iūdiiciis, cum capitis causam diceret, dēfēsus, ali-
 quotiēns liberātus discēsserat. Hunc nōn solum in
 periculīs nōn dēfendit sed etiam prōdidit. Concidit 4
 autem māximē ūnō crimine, quod, cum apud eum sum-
 mum esset imperium populī iūssū, et Nicānore Cassandri
 praefectum insidiārī Pīraeō ā Dercylō monērētur,
 idemque pōstulāret ut prōvidēret nē commeātibus civi-
 tās privārētur, huic audiente populō Phōciōn negāvit
 esse periculum sēque eius rei obsidem fore pollicitus
 est. Neque ita multō post Nicānōr Pīraeō est potitus. 5
 Ad quem recuperandum cum populus armātus con-
 currisset, ille nōn modo nēminem ad arma vocāvit sed
 nē armātis quidem praeesse voluit.

Erant eō tempore Athēnīs duae factiōnēs, quarum 3
 ūna populī causam agēbat, altera optimātium. In hāc
 erat Phōciōn et Dēmētrius Phalēreus. Hārum utraque
 Macedonum patrōciniis ūtēbātur; nam populārēs Poly-
 perchonti favēbant, optimātēs cum Cassandrō sentiē-
 bant. Interim ā Polyperchonte Cassandrus Macedoniā 2
 pulsus est. Quō factō populus superior factus, statim

2. 2. patriae m. c. : Athens, however, was completely at the mercy of the enemy. — amicitiae: the present account of friendly relations between Phocion and Demosthenes, who had always been political opponents, is not confirmed by other authorities. 4. idem: Dercylus, who was στρατηγός with Phocion. — obsidem f. : Phocion's confidence was based upon the peaceful assurances of Nicanor, who commanded a Macedonian garrison at Munychia.

ducēs adversāriae factiōnis capitis damnātōs patriā
 prōpulit, in eīs Phōciōnem et Dēmētrium Phalēreum,
 deque eā rē lēgātōs ad Polyperchontem mīsīt, quī ab
 3 eō peterent ut sua dēcrēta cōfirmāret. Hūc eōdem
 prōfectus est Phōciōn. Quō ut vēnit, causam apud
 Philippum rēgem verbō, rē ipsā quidem apud Polyper-
 chontem iūssus est dicere; namque is tum rēgis rēbus
 4 praeerat. Hīc ab Agnōne accūsātus, quod Pīraeum
 Nicānorī prōdidisset, ex cōsili sententiā in cūstōdiam
 coniectus, Athēnās dēductus est, ut ibi dē eō lēgibus
 fieret iūdicium.

4 Hūc ut perventum est, cum propter aetātem pedibus
 iam nōn valeret vehiculōque portārētur, māgnī concur-
 sūs sunt factī, cum aliī reminiscētēs veteris fāmae
 aetātis miserērentur, plūrimī vērō irā exacuerentur
 propter prōditionis sūspiciōnem, māximēque quod
 2 adversus populī commoda in senectūte steterat. Quārē
 nē perōrandī quidem eī data est facultās dicentī causam
 in iūdiō: lēgitimis quibusdam cōfectīs damnātus,
 trāditus est undecimvirīs, quibus ad supplicium mōre
 3 Athēniēnsium publicē damnātī trādī solent. Hīc cum
 ad mortem dūcerētur, obviū eī fuit Euphilētus, quō
 familiāriter fuerat ūsus. Is cum lacrimāns dīxisset,
 ‘O quam indigna perpeteris Phōciōn!’ huīc ille, ‘At
 nōn inopināta’ inquit; ‘hunc enim exitum plērique
 4 clārī virī habuērunt Athēnīs.’ In hōc tantum fuit
 odium multitudinis, ut nēmō ausus sit liber sepelīre.
 Itaque ā servīs sepultus est.

3. 2. **damnatos**: ‘by condemning.’ They could escape death by leaving the country. — **sua**: *i.e.*, *populi*. 3. **regem**: Philippus Arrhidaeus, half brother of Alexander the Great.

4. 2. **perorandi**: *of finishing his speech*. — **legitimis q. c.**: ‘after certain formalities had been gone through with.’ — ‘The Eleven’ had charge of public executions.

XX.

TIMOLEON.

Timoleon Corinthius. Sine dubiō magnus omnium 1
iudiciō hic vir exstitit. Namque huic ūnī contigit
quod nesciō an nūllī, ut et patriam in quā erat nātus
oppressam ā tyrannō liberāret, et ā Syrācūsānīs, qui-
bus auxiliō erat missus, iam inveterātam servitūtem
dēpelleret, tōtamque Siciliam multōs annōs bellō vexā-
tam ā barbarīsque oppressam suō adventū in pristinum
restitueret. Sed in hīs rēbus nōn simplici fōrtūnā 2
cōflictātus est, et id quod difficilius putātur, multō
sapientius tulit secundam quam adversam fōrtūnam.
Nam cum frāter eius Timophanēs, dux ā Corinthiīs 3
dēlēctus, tyrannidem per militēs mercennariōs occu-
pāset particepsque rēgnī ipse posset esse, tantum
āfuit ā societāte sceleris ut antetulerit cīvium suōrum
libertātem frātris salūtī, et pārere lēgibus quam impe-
rāre patriae satius dūxerit. Hāc mente, per haru- 4
spicem, commūnemque affinem cui soror ex eīsdem
parentibus nāta nūpta erat, frātrem tyrannum inter-
ficiundum cūrāvit. Ipse nōn modo manūs nōn attulit,
sed nē āspicere quidem frāternum sanguinem voluit.
Nam dum rēs cōficerētur procul in praesidiō fuit, nē
quis satellites posset succurrere. Hōc praeclārissimum 5

TIMOLEON, B.C. 411-337. — 1. *nescio an*: 'probably.' Cf. VIII. 1, 2 (p. 46). — *inveteratam*: about 60 years. — *barbaris*: the Carthaginians. — *in pristinum*: 'to its former condition' of liberty and peace. 2. *non simplici*: *et secundā et adversā*. 4. *communem a.*: common to Timophanes and Timoleon. Not the same person as *haruspicem*.

6 eius factum nōn parī modō probātum est ab omnibus ;
nōnnulli enim laesam ab eō pietātem putābant et invi-
diā laudem virtūtis obterēbant. Māter vērō post id
factum neque domum ad sē filium admisit neque
aspexit quīn eum frātricidam impiumque dētestāns
6 compellāret. Quibus rēbus ille adeō est commōtus,
ut nōnnumquam vitāe finem facere voluerit atque ex
ingrātōrum hominum cōspectū morte dēcēdere.

2 Interim, Diōne Syracūsīs interfectō, Dionȳsius rū-
sus Syracūsārum potitus est. Cūius adversārii opem
a Corinthiīs petiērunt ducemque quō in bellō ūterentur
pōstulārunt. Hūc Tīmoleōn missus incredibili felici-
2 tāte Dionȳsium tōtā Sicilia dēpulit. Cum interficere
posset, nōluit, tūtōque ut Corinthum perveniret effecit,
quod utrōrumque Dionȳsiōrum opibus Corinthiī saepe
adiūtī fuerant, cūius benignitātis memoriam volēbat
exstāre, eamque praeclāram victōriam dūcēbat in quā
plūs esset clēmētiaē quam crūdēlītātis ; postrēmō, ut
nōn solum auribus acciperētur sed etiam oculis cerne-
rētur, quem et ex quantō rēgnō ad quam fōrtūnam
3 dētulisset. Post Dionȳsi dēcēssum cum Hicetā bellā-
vit, quī adversātus erat Dionȳsiō ; quem nōn odiō
tyrannidis dissēnsisse sed cupiditāte, indicio fuit quod
ipse expulsō Dionȳsiō imperium dimittere nōluit.
4 Hōc superātō, Tīmoleōn māximās cōpiās Carthāginiēn-
sium apud Crīnissum flūmen fugāvit, ac satis habēre
coēgit, sī liceret Africam obtinēre, quī iam complūrēs
annōs possessiōnem Siciliae tenēbant. Cēpit etiam

1. 5. *laesam pietatem*: 'a violation of natural affection.'—*de-
testans*: with curses.

2. *incredibili f.*: within fifty days after landing in Sicily. 2. *ex-
stare*: survive. 4. *satis habere*: to be content.

Mamercum, Ìtalicum ducem, hominem bellicōsum et potentem quī tyrannōs adiūtum in Siciliam vēnerat.

Quibus rēbus cōfectis, cum propter diuturnitatem 8
belli nōn solum regiōnēs sed etiam urbēs dēsertās
vidēret, conquīsivit quōs potuit primum Siculōs, dein
Corinthō arcessivit colōnōs, quod ab eis initio Syrā-
cūsae erant conditae. Cīvibus veteribus sua restituit, 2
novis bellō vacuēfactās possessionēs divīsit, urbium
moenia disiecta fānaque dētēcta refecit, cīvitātibus
lēgēs libertātemque reddidit; ex māximō bellō tantum
ōtium tōtae insulae conciliāvit, ut hīc conditor urbium
eārum, nōn illī quī initio dēdūxerant, vidērētur. Arcem 3
Syrācūsīs quam mūnierat Dionysius ad urbem obsi-
dendam ā fundamētis disiēcit, cētera tyrannidis prō-
pūgnācula dēmōlītus est, deditque operam ut quam
minimē multa vēstigia servitūtis manērent. Cum tan- 4
tīs esset opibus ut etiam invītis imperāre posset, tan-
tum autem amōrem habēret omnium Siculōrum ut
nūllō recūsante rēgnum obtinēre licēret, māluit sē
diligī quam metuī. Itaque cum primum potuit impe-
rium dēposuit ac prīvātus Syrācūsīs quod reliquom
vītae fuit vīxit. Neque vērō id imperitē fēcit; nam 5
quod cēterī rēgēs imperiō potuērunt, hīc benevolentīā
tenuit. Nūllus honōs huic dēfuit, neque postea rēs
ūlla Syrācūsīs gesta est publicē dē quā prius sit dēcrē-
tum quam Tīmoleontis sententiā cōgnitā. Nūllius 6
umquam cōnsilium nōn modo antelātum sed nē com-
parātum quidem est. Neque id magis eius benevolen-
tiā factum est quam prūdentiā.

Hīc cum aetāte iam prōvectus esset, sine ūllō 4

3. 3. **Dionysius**: the Elder. See X. 5, 5, n. (p. 58). 5. **imperite**:
unwisely. 6. **eius**: towards him.

- morbō lūmina oculōrum amīsit. Quam calamitatem ita moderatē tulit, ut neque eum querentem quisquam audierit, neque eō minus privātis publicisque rēbus
- 2 interfuerit. Veniebat autem in theātrum cum ibi concilium populi habērētur, propter valētūdinem vectus iūmentis iūctis, atque ita dē vehiculō quae vidēbantur dicēbat. Neque hōc illi quisquam tribuēbat superbiae; nihil enim umquam neque insolēns neque
- 3 glōriōsum ex ore eius exiit. Quī quidem cum suās laudēs audiret praedicārī, numquam aliud dixit quam sē in eā rē māximē dīs agere grātiās atque habēre, quod, cum Siciliam recreāre cōstituissent, tum sē
- 4 potissimum ducem esse voluissent. Nihil enim rērum hūmānarum sine deōrum nūmine gerī putābat. Itaque suae domī sacellum Automatiās cōstituerat idque sāctissimē colēbat.
- 5 Ad hanc hominis excellentem bonitatem mirābilēs accēsserant cāsūs. Nam proelia māxima nātālī suō diē fecit omnia; quō factum est ut eius diem nātālem fēstum
- 2 habēret ūniversa Sicilia. Huic quidam Laphystius, homō petulāns et ingrātus, vadimōnium cum vellet impōnere, quod cum illō sē lēge agere diceret, et complūrēs concurrissent quī procācitatem hominis manibus coercēre cōnārentur, Tīmoleōn orāvit omnēs nē id facerent. Namque id ut Laphystiō et cuiusvis liceret, sē māximōs labōrēs summaque adiisse pericula. Hanc

4. 2. **valetudinem**: his condition of blindness. — **iumentis iunctis**: a span. — **quae v.**: 'his views.' 3. **qui quidem**: 'to illustrate this.' Cf. X. 2, 2 (p. 55); 4, 1. — **agere . . . habere**: 'returned thanks which he truly felt.' 4. **Automatiās**: Greek gen. *Ἀττοματῶν*, *Fors Fortuna*.

5. **casus**: coincidences. — **festum**: as a holiday. 2. **vadimonium imp.**: i.e., to serve a summons upon him to appear at court.

enim speciem libertātis esse, si omnibus quod quisque vellet lēgibus experiri licēret. Idem, cum quīdam Laphysti similis, nōmine Dēmaenetus, in cōtiōne populi dē rēbus gestis eius dētrahere coepisset ac nōn- nulla inveherētur in Tīmoleonta, dixit nunc dēmum sē vōti esse damnātum; namque hōc ā dīs immortalibus semper precātum, ut tālem libertātem restitueret Syracūsānis in quā cuiusvis licēret dē quō vellet quod vellet impūnē dicere.

Hic cum diem suprēmum obisset, publicē ā Syracūsānis in gymnasiō quod Tīmoleontēum appellātur, totā celebrante Siciliā, sepultus est.

XXI.

DE REGIBUS.

Hī ferē fuērunt Graecae gentis ducēs quī memoriā digni videantur praeter rēgēs; namque eōs attingere nōluimus, quod omnium rēs gestae sēparatim sunt relatae. Neque tamen eī admodum sunt multi. Lacedaemonius autem Agēsilāus nōmine nōn potestāte fuit rēx, sicut cēteri Spartāni. Ex eīs vērō quī dominātum

5. 2. **speciem**: *ideal*. — **quisque**: see V. 4, 1, n. (p. 30). 3. **damnatum**, etc.: 'that his wish was at last fulfilled.' A *votum* was a promise made to the gods on certain conditions. Were those conditions fulfilled, then the votary was said to be *condemned to the payment of his vow*.

DE REGIBUS. A brief mention of certain *Kings* who had distinguished themselves as military leaders. — 1. **separatim**: in one book of the present work, entitled *de Regibus Exterarum Gentium*. 2. **Spartani**: *sc. reges*. — **dominatum** i.: *absolute power in their office*. The Persian king, for example, was *dominus*; his subjects were *servi*. — **Massagetas**: a warlike tribe on the shore of the Caspian Sea.

- imperio tenuerunt excellentissimi fuerunt, ut nos iudicamus, Persarum Cyrus et Darius, Hystaspis filius; quorum uterque privatus virtute regnum est adeptus. Prior horum apud Massagetis in proelio cecidit,
- 3 Darius senectute diem obiit supremum. Tres sunt praeterea eiusdem gentis: Xerxes et duo Artaxerxae, Macrochir cognomine et Mnemon. Xerxi maxime est illustre quod maxime post hominum memoriam
- 4 exercitibus terra marique bellum intulit Graeciae. At Macrochir praecipuam habet laudem amplissimae pulcherrimaeque corporis formae, quam incredibili ornavit virtute belli; namque illo Perses nemo manu fuit fortior. Mnemon autem iustitiae fama floruit. Nam cum matris suae scelere amississet uxorem, tantum
- 5 indulxit dolori ut eum pietas vinceret. Ex his, duo eodem nomine morbo naturae debitum reddiderunt, tertius ab Artabanō praefecto ferro interemptus est.
- 2 Ex Macedonum autem gente duo multo ceteros antecesserunt rerum gestarum gloria, Philippus, Amyntae filius, et Alexander Magnus. Horum alter Babylonē morbo consumptus est; Philippus Aegii a Pausania, cum spectatum ludos iret, iuxta theatrum
- 2 occisus est. Unus Epirotes, Pyrrhus, qui cum populo Romanō bellavit. Is cum Argos oppidum oppugnaret, in Peloponnēsō lapide ictus interiit. Unus item Siculus, Dionysius prior. Nam et manu fortis et belli peritus fuit, et id quod in tyrannō nō facile reperitur, minimē libidinōsus, nō luxuriōsus, nō avārus, nūl-

1. 3. **Macrochir**: *Μακρόχειρ*, *Longimanus*. — **Mnemon**: *Μνήμων*, 'Mindful.' 4. **tantum**: only *so much*; 'with such restraint.' — **eum**: *dolorem*. 5. **duo e. n.**: i.e., the two Artaxerxes.

2. **Aegii**, in Macedon. 2. **Epirotes**: nom.; of *Epirus*. The war with Pyrrhus, B.C. 280-276.

lius dēnique rei cupidus nisi singulāris perpetuūque imperī, ob eamque rem crudēlis; nam dum id studuit mūnīre, nullius pepercit vitāe quem eius insidiātorem putāret. Hīc cum virtūte tyrannidem sibi peperisset, 3
māgnā retinuit felicitate; maior enim annos sexagintā nātus decēssit florēte regnō. Neque in tam multis annis cuiusquam ex suā stirpe fūnus vidit, cum ex tribus uxōribus liberōs prōcreāset multique ei nātī essent nepōtēs.

Fuerunt praeterea magni regēs ex amicis Alexandri 8
Magni, qui post obitum eius imperia cōpērunt, in eis Antigonus et huius filius Dēmētrius, Lysimachus, Seleucus, Ptolemaeus. Ex his Antigonus in proelio 2
cum adversus Seleucum et Lysimachum dimicāret occisus est. Pari lētō affectus est Lysimachus ab Seleucō; namque societate dissoluta bellum inter se gesserunt. At Dēmētrius, cum filiam suam Seleucō in 3
mātrimōnium dedisset neque eō magis fida inter eos amicitia manere potuisset, captus bellō in cūstodiā socer generi periit a morbo. Neque ita multō post 4
Seleucus a Ptolemaeo Ceraunō dolō interfectus est, quem ille a patre expulsum Alexandrēā aliēnārum opum indigentem recēperat. Ipse autem Ptolemaeus, cum vivus filiō regnum tradidisset, ab illō eodem vitā privātus dicitur.

Dē quibus quoniam satis dictum putāmus, nōn in 5
commodum videtur nōn praeterire Hamilcarem et Hannibalem, quos et animi magnitudine et calliditate omnes in Africā nātōs praestitisse cōstat.

2. 2. *singularis imp.*: cf. *s. potentia*, X. 9, 5, n. (p. 61). — Nepos in this sketch uses *rex* as the equivalent of either βασιλεύς or τύραννος.

3. 5. *non i.*: 'quite proper.' — *constat*: it is agreed.

XXII.

HAMILCAR.

- 1 Hamilcar, Hannibalis filius, cōgnōmine Barca, Carthāginiēnsis, primō Poenicō bellō sed temporibus extrēmīs, admodum adulēscētulus in Siciliā praeesse
 2 coepit exercituī. Cum ante eius adventum et mari et terrā male rēs gererentur Carthāginiēnsium, ipse ubi affuit numquam hosti cēssit neque locum nocendi dedit, saepeque ē contrāriō, occāsiōne datā, lacessivit semperque superior discēssit. Quō factō, cum paene omnia in Siciliā Poeni āmisissent, ille Erycem sic dēfendit ut bellum eō locō gestum nōn vidērētur.
 3 Interim Carthāginiēnsēs, clāsse apud insulās Aegātēs ā C. Lutātiō, cōsule Rōmānōrum, superātī, statuērunt bellī facere finem eamque rem arbitriō permīsērunt Hamilcaris. Ille etsi flagrābat bellandī cupiditāte, tamen pāci serviundum putāvit, quod patriam exhaustam sūmptibus diūtius calamitātēs bellī ferre nōn
 4 posse intellegēbat; sed ita, ut statim mente agitāret, si paulum modo rēs essent refectae, bellum renovāre Rōmānōsque armīs persequi, dōnicum aut virtūte vicissent aut victi manūs dedissent. Hōc cōnsiliō pacem
 5 conciliāvit. In quō tantā fuit ferōciā, cum Catulus negāret bellum compositūrum, nisi ille cum suis quī Erycem tenērent, armīs relictis, Siciliā dēcēderent, ut

HAMILCAR, DIED B.C. 229. —1. The First Punic War, B.C. 264-241.

4. *sed ita*: *sc. pāci serviundum putavit*. 'But only with the intention of immediately renewing the war, if, etc.' — *dōnicum*: *donec*. 5. *Catulus*: the *cognomen* of C. Lutatius. — *compositurum*: see VII. 8, 3, n.

succumbente patriā ipse peritūrum sē potius dīxerit quam cum tantō flāgitio domum rediret; nōn enim suae esse virtūtis arma ā patriā accepta adversus hostēs adversāriis trādere. Hūius pertināciae cēssit Catulus.

At ille, ut Carthāginem vēnit, multō aliter ac spē 2
rārat rem pūblicam sē habentem cōgnōvit. Namque diūturnitate externī malī tantum exārsit intestinum bellum ut numquam in parī periculō fuerit Carthāgō nisi cum dēlēta est. Prīmō mercennārii mīlites quibus 2
adversus Rōmānōs ūsi erant dēscivērunt, quōrum numerus erat vīginti mīlium. Eī tōtam abaliēnārunt Āfricam, ipsam Carthāginem oppūgnārunt. Quibus 3
malis adeō sunt Poenī perterriti ut etiam auxilia ab Rōmānis petierint; eaque impetrārunt. Sed extrēmō, cum prope iam ad dēspēratiōnem pervēnissent, Hamil-
carem imperātorem fēcērunt. Is nōn solum hostēs ā 4
mūrīs Carthāginis remōvit, cum amplius centum mīlia facta essent armātōrum, sed etiam eō compulit ut locōrum angustiis clausi plūrēs fame quam ferrō interirent. Omnia oppida abaliēnāta, in eīs Uticam atque Hippōnem, valentissima tōtius Āfricae, restituit patriae. Neque eō fuit contentus, sed etiam finēs 5
imperī prōpāgāvit, tōtā Āfricā tantum ōtium reddidit, ut nūllum in eā bellum vidērētur multīs annīs fuisse.

Rēbus hīs ex sententiā peractis, fidentī animō atque 3
infestō Rōmānis, quō facilius causam bellandī reperiret, effēcit ut imperātor cum exercitū in Hispāniam mitterētur, eoque sēcum dūxit filium Hannibalem annōrum novem. Erat praeterea cum eō adulēscēns 2

1. 5. suae esse v.: cf. XVII. 5, 3, n. (p. 101).

2. se habentem: situated.

- illūstris, fōrmōsus, Hasdrubal, cui ille filiam suam in
 3 mātirimōnium dedit. Dē hōc ideō mentiōnem fēcimus,
 quod Hamilcare occisō ille exercitū praefuit rēsque
 māgnās gessit, et prīnceps largitiōne vetustōs perversit
 mōrēs Carthāginiēnsium, eiusdemque post mortem
 Hannibal ab exercitū accēpit imperium.
- 4 At Hamilcar, posteaquam mare trānsiit in Hispā-
 niamque vēnit, māgnās rēs secundā gessit fōrtūnā;
 māximās bellicōsissimāsque gentēs subēgit; equīs,
 2 armīs, virīs, pecūniā tōtam locuplētāvit Āfricam. Hīc
 cum in Ītaliā bellum inferre meditārētur, nōnō annō
 postquam in Hispāniā vēnerat, in proeliō pūgnāns
 3 adversus Vettōnēs occisus est. Hūius perpetuom
 odium ergā Rōmānōs māximē concitāsse vidētur secun-
 dum bellum Poenicum. Namque Hannibal, filius
 eius, assiduīs patris obtestātiōnibus eō est perductus
 ut interfīre quam Rōmānōs nōn experīrī mallet.

XXIII.

HANNIBAL.

- 1 Hannibal, Hamilcaris filius, Carthāginiēnsis. Sī
 vērū est, quod nēmō dubitat, ut populus Rōmānus
 omnēs gentēs virtūte superārit, nōn est infitiandum
 Hannibalem tantō praestitisse cēterōs imperātōrēs prū-
 dentiā quantō populus Rōmānus antecēdat fortitudīne

3. 2. **Hasdrubal**: to be distinguished from Hannibal's brother H.

4. 3. **obtestationibus**: *adjurations*.

HANNIBAL, B.C. 247-183. — 1. **virtute**: *prowess*; cf. *fortitudine*,
 below.

cūctās nātiōēs. Nam quotiēscumque cum eō con- 2
gressus est in Ītaliā, semper discēssit superior. Quod
nisi domī cīvium suōrum invidiā dēbilitātus esset,
Rōmānōs vidētur superāre potuisse. Sed multōrum
obtrēctātiō dēvicit ūnīus virtūtem.

Hīc autem velut hērēditāte relictum odium pater- 3
num ergā Rōmānōs sic cōservāvit ut prius animam
quam id dēposuerit; quī quidem cum patriā pulsus
esset et aliēnārū opum indigēret, numquam dēstiterit
animō bellāre cum Rōmānīs.

Nam ut omittam Philippum, quem absēns hostem 2
reddidit Rōmānīs, omnium eīs temporibus potentissi-
mus rēx Antiochus fuit. Hunc tantā cupiditāte incen-
dit bellandī, ut ūsque ā rubrō mari arma cōnātus sit
inferre Ītaliae. Ad quem cum lēgātī vēnissent Rō- 2
mānī, quī dē eius voluntāte explōrārent darentque
operam cōsiliīs clandestīnīs ut Hannibalem in sūspī-
ciōnem rēgī addūcerent, tamquam ab ipsis corruptus
alia atque antea sentīret, neque id frūstrā fēcissent,
idque Hannibal comperīssset, sēque ab interiōribus cōn-
siliīs sēgregārī vidisset; tempore datō adiit ad rēgem, 3
etque cum multa dē fidē suā et odiō in Rōmānōs com-
memorāsset, hōc adiūnxit: 'Pater meus' inquit 'Ha-
milcar, puerulō mē, utpote nōn amplius novem annōs
nātō, in Hispāniam imperātor proficiscēns, Carthāgine
Iovī optimō māximō hostiās immolāvit. Quae dīvīna 4
rēs dum cōficiēbātur, quaeīvit ā mē, vellemne sēcum
in castra proficiscī. Id cum libenter accēpīsssem atque

1. 2. **quod nisi**: now had he not, etc. Nepos shows himself very fair-minded here. — **obtreectatio**: cf. XVIII. 10, 2, n. (p. 113).

2. **Philippum**: the Third, of Macedon. — **absens**: while himself in Italy. — **Antiochus**: the Third, of Syria; called the Great. 4. **dīvīna r.**: religious rite.

- ab eō petere coepissem nē dubitāret dūcere, tum ille,
 “Faciam” inquit “sī mihi fidem quam pōstulō dede-
 ris.” Simul mē ad āram addūxit apud quam sacrificāre
 Instituerat, eamque cēteris remōtis tenentem iūrāre
 5 iūssit, numquam mē in amīcitiā cum Rōmānīs fore. Id
 ego iūsiūrandum patrī datum ūsque ad hanc aetātem
 ita cōservāvī, ut nēmīnī dubium esse dēbeat quīn
 6 reliquō tempore eādē mente sim futūrus. Quārē, sī
 quid amīcē dē Rōmānīs cogitābis, nōn imprūdentē
 fēceris sī mē cēlāris; cum quidem bellum parābis, tē
 ipsum frūstrāberis sī nōn mē in eō principem posueris.’
- 3 Hāc igitur quā diximus aetāte cum patre in Hispā-
 niam profectus est; cūius post obitum, Hasdrubale
 imperātōre suffectō, equitātū omni praefuit. Hōc
 quoque interfectō, exercitus summam imperī ad eum
 dētulit. Id Carthāginem dēlātum publicē comprobā-
 2 tum est. Sic Hannibal minor quīnque et vīgintī annīs
 imperātōr factus, proximō trienniō omnēs gentēs Hi-
 spāniae bellō subēgit, Saguntum, foederatam civitātem,
 vī expūgnāvit, trēs exercitūs māximōs comparāvit.
- 3 Ex hīs ūnum in Āfricam mīsīt, alterum cum Hasdru-
 bale frātre in Hispāniā reliquit, tertium in Ītaliā
 sēcum dūxit. Ut saltum Pūrēnaeum trānsiit, quācum-
 que iter fēcit, cum omnibus incolīs cōflīxit, nēmīnem
 4 nisi victum dīmīsīt. Ad Alpēs posteāquam vēnit, quā
 Ītaliā ab Galliā sēiungunt, quās nēmō unquam cum
 exercitū ante eum praeter Herculem Grāiū trānsie-
 rat (quō factō is hōdiē saltus Grāius appellātur), Alpi-

2. 4. *fidem*: *iusiurandum*. — *tenentem*: *i.e.*, with his hand upon the altar.

3. *Hasdrubale, etc.*: see XXII. 3, 3 (p. 128). 2. *foederatam*: with the Romans. 3. *saltum P.*: the Pyrenees.

cōs cōnantēs prohibēre trānsitū concēdit; loca patefēcit, itinera mūniit, effēcit ut eā elephantus ōrnātus ire posset quā antea ūnus homō inermis vix poterat rēpere. Hāc cōpiās trādūxit in Ītaliāque pervēnit.

Cōnflīxerat apud Rhodanum cum P. Cornēliō Sci- 4
piōne cōnsule eumque pepulerat. Cum hōc eōdem
Clastidī apud Padum dēcernit sauciumque inde ac
fugātum dīmittit. Tertiō idem Scīpiō cum collēgā 2
Tiberiō Longō apud Trebiam adversus eum vēnit.
Cum eīs manum cōnseruit, utrōsque prōflīgāvit. Inde 3
per Ligurēs Appennīnum trānsiit, petēns Etrūriam.
Hōc in itinere adeō gravī morbō afficitur oculōrum ut
postea numquam dextrō aequē bene ūsus sit. Quā
valētūdine cum etiamnum prēmerētur lecticāque ferrē-
tur, C. Flāminium cōnsulem apud Trasumennum cum
exercitū insidiīs circumventum occidit, neque multō
post C. Centēnium praetōrem cum dēlectā manū saltūs
occupantem. Hinc in Āpūliā pervēnit. Ibi obviam 4
eī vērunt duo cōsulēs, C. Terentius et L. Aemilius.
Utriusque exercitūs ūnō proeliō fugāvit, Paulum cōn-
sulem occidit et aliquot praeterea cōsulārēs, in eīs Cn.
Servīlium Geminum, quī superiōre annō fuerat cōsul.

Hāc pūgnā pūgnātā, Romam profectus nullō 5
sistente, in propinquīs urbī montibus morātus est.
Cum aliquot ibi diēs castra habuisset et Capuam rever-
terētur, Q. Fabius Māximus, dictātor Rōmānus, in agrō

3. 4. *itinera m.*: built roads. — *ornatus*: opp. to *inermis*. — A rather graphic way of indicating the difference between a road and a 'trail.'

4. *Rhodanum*: the Rhone. — *Padum*: the Po. 3. *valetudine*: cf. XX. 4, 2, n. (p. 122). — *lectica*: sedan chair. — Lake Trasumennus.

4. *proelio*: the battle of Cannae, B.C. 216. — L. Aemilius Paulus.

5. *Romam profectus*: not, however, until five years afterward.

- 2 Falernō eī sē obiēcīt. Hīc clausus locōrum angustīs, noctū sine ūllō dētrīmentō exercitūs sē expēdīvit Fabiō-que, callidissimō imperātōrī, dedit verba. Namque obductā nocte sarmenta in cornibus iuvencōrum dēligāta incendit ēiusque generis multitudinem māgnam dispālātam immīsīt. Quō repentinō vīsū obiectō, tantum terrōrem iniēcīt exercituī Rōmānōrum ut ēgredi extrā vāllum
- 3 nēmō sit ausus. Hanc post rem gestam nōn ita multis diēbus M. Minucium Rufum, magistrum equitum, parī ac dictātōrem imperiō, dolō prōductum in proelium fugāvit. Tiberium Semprōnium Gracchum iterum cōnsulem in Lūcānīs absēns in insidiās inductum sustulit. M. Claudium Marcellum quīnquiēs cōnsulem
- 4 apud Venusiam parī modō interfēcīt. Longum est omnia ēnumerāre proelia. Quārē hōc ūnum satis erit dictum, ex quō intellegī possit quantus ille fuerit: quamdiū in Italiā fuit, nēmō eī in aciēs restitit; nēmō adversus eum post Cannēsem pūgnam in campō castra posuit.
- 6 Hinc invictus patriam dēfēsum revocātus bellum gessit contrā P. Scīpiōnem, filium ēius Scīpiōnis quem ipse primō apud Rhodanum, iterum apud Padum,
- 2 terciō apud Trebiam fugārat. Cum hōc, exhaustīs iam patriae facultātibus, cupīvit impraesentiārum bellum compōnere, quō valentior postea congredērētur. In colloquium convēnit, condiciōnēs nōn convēnērunt.
- 3 Post id factum paucīs diēbus apud Zāmam cum eōdem cōnflīxit; pulsus (incrēdibile dictū) biduō et duābus noctibus Hadrūmētum pervēnit, quod abest ab Zāmā

5. 2. *dedit verba*: 'gave the slip.' — *obducta n.*: *at nightfall*. — *sarmenta*: *fagots*. — *immisit*: *sc. in Romanos*.

6. 2. *facultatibus*: *cf. XV. 3, 4 and 5, n. (p. 85)*. — *impraesentiarum*: *in praesentia rerum*, 'for the time being.'

circiter milia pāssuom trecenta. In hāc fugā Numidae 4
quī simul cum eō ex aciē excēsserant insidiātī sunt eī;
quōs nōn solum effūgit sed etiam ipsos oppressit.
Hadrūmētī reliquos ē fugā collēgit; novīs dīlectibus
paucīs diēbus multōs contrāxit.

Cum in apparandō ācerrimē esset occupātus, Car- 7
thāginiēnsēs bellum cum Rōmānīs composuērunt. Ille
nihilō sētius exercituī postea praefuit rēsque in
Āfricā gessit usque ad P. Sulpiciū C. Aurēliū cōn-
sulēs. Hīs enim magistrātibus lēgātī Carthāginiēnsēs 2
Rōmam vērunt, quī senātui populōque Rōmānō grā-
tiās agerent quod cum eis pācem fēcissent, ob eamque
rem corōnā aureā eos dōnārent simulque peterent ut
obsidēs eōrum Fregellīs essent captīvique redderentur.
Hīs ex senātūs cōsultō respōnsum est: mūnus eōrum 3
grātum acceptumque esse; obsidēs quō locō rogārent
futūrōs; captīvōs nōn remissūrōs, quod Hannibalem,
cūius operā susceptum bellum foret, inimicissimum
nōminī Rōmānō, etiamnum cum imperiō apud exerci-
tum habērent itemque frātre eīus Māgōnem. Hōc 4
respōnsō Carthāginiēnsēs cōgnitō, Hannibalem domum
revocārunt. Hūc ut rediit rēx factus est, postquam
imperātor fuerat, annō secundō et vicēsimo; ut enim
Rōmae cōsulēs, sic Carthāgine quotannis annuī binī
rēgēs creābantur. In eō magistrātū parī diligentiā sē 5
Hannibal praebuit ac fuerat in bellō. Namque effēcit
ex novīs vectigālibus, nōn solum ut esset pecūnia quae
Rōmānīs ex foedere penderētur, sed etiam superesset
quae in aerāriō repōneretur. Deinde M. Claudiō L. 6

6. 4. *dilectibus*: *levies*.

7. *consules*: B.C. 200. 2. *his m.*: a designation of time. — *Fregellis*: at *Fregellae*, in Latium. 3. *acceptum*: *welcome*.

- Fūriō cōsulibus Rōmā lēgātī Carthāginem vērunt. Hōs Hannibal ratus suī expōscendī grātiā missōs, priusquam eīs senātus darētur, nāvem āscendit clam atque in
- 7 Tyriam ad Antiochum prōfūgit. Hāc rē palam factā, Poenī nāvēs duās quae eum comprehenderent sī possent cōsequī mīsērunt, bona eius pūblicārunt, domum ā fundāmentīs disiēcērunt, ipsum exsulem iūdicārunt.
- 8 At Hannibal, annō tertio postquam domō prōfūgerat, L. Cornēliō Q. Minuciō cōsulibus, cum quīnque nāvibus Āfricam accēssit in finibus Cŷrēnaeorū, sī forte Carthāginiēnsēs ad bellum indūcere posset, Antiochī spē fidūciāque, cui iam persuāserat ut cum exercitibus in Ītaliā proficīscerētur. Hūc Māgōnem
- 2 frātre excivit. Id ubi Poenī rescivērunt, Māgōnem eādē quā frātre absentem affēcērunt poenā. Illi dēspērātīs rēbus cum solvissent nāvēs ac vēla ventis dedissent, Hannibal ad Antiochum pervēnit. Dē Māgōnis interitū duplex memoria prōdita est; namque aliī naufragiō, aliī ā servolīs ipsius interfectum eum
- 3 scriptum reliquērunt. Antiochus autem, sī tam in gerendō bellō cōsiliis eius pārere voluisset quam in suscipiendō instituerat, propius Tiberī quam Thermopylīs dē summā imperī dīmīcāset. Quem etsī multa stultē cōnārī vidēbat, tamen nullā dēseruit in rē.
- 4 Praefuit paucīs nāvibus quās ex Syriā iūssus erat in Asiā dūcere, eisque adversus Rhodiōrū clāssem in Pamphŷliō marī cōnflīxit. In quō cum multitudīne adversāriōrū suī superārentur, ipse quō cornū rem gessit fuit superior.

7. 6. **consulibus**: B.C. 196. — **senatus**: an audience of the senate.

8. **Antiochi**, etc.: 'through the dependence they might put in A.'

3. **eius**: of Hannibal. — **Thermopylis**: where Antiochus was defeated by the Romans.

Antiochō fugātō, verēns nē dēderētur, quod sine 9
dubiō accidisset sī suī fēcisset potestātem, Crētā ad
Gortyniōs vēnit, ut ibi quō sē cōferret cōsiderāret.
Vidit autem vir omnium callidissimus, in māgnō sē 2
fore periculō nisi quid prōvidisset, propter avāritiam
Crētēnsium; māgnam enim sēcum pecūniam portābat,
dē quā sciēbat exīsse fāmam. Itaque capit tāle cōnsi-
lium. Amphorās complūrēs complet plumbō, summās 3
operit aurō et argentō. Hās praesentibus prīncipibus
dēpōnit in templō Diānae, simulāns sē suās fōrtūnās
illōrum fidei crēdere. His in errōrem inductis, statuās
aēneās quās sēcum portābat omni suā pecūniā complet
eāsque in prōpatulō domī abicit. Gortynī templum 4
māgnā cūrā cūstōdiunt, nōn tam ā cēteris quam ab
Hannibale, nē ille inscientibus eis tolleret sua sēcum-
que dūceret.

Sic cōservātis suis rēbus Poenus, illūsis Crētēnsi- 10
bus, ad Prūsiam in Pontum pervēnit. Apud quem
eōdem animō fuit ergā Ītaliā, neque aliud quicquam
ēgit quam rēgem armāvit et exacuit adversus Rō-
mānōs. Quem cum vidēret domesticis opibus minus 2
esse rōbustum, conciliābat cēterōs rēgēs, adiungēbat
bellicosās nātiōnēs. Dissidēbat ab eō Pergamēnus rēx
Eumenēs, Rōmānis amīcissimus, bellumque inter eōs
gerēbātur et marī et terrā. Sed utrobique Eumenēs 3
plūs valēbat propter Rōmānōrum societātem; quō
magis cupiēbat eum Hannibal opprimī; quem sī re-
mōvisset, faciōra sibi cētera fore arbitrābātur. Ad
hunc interficiendum tālem iniit ratiōnem. Clāsse

9. 3. **summas**: on top. — **propatulo**: court-yard. — **domi**: loc.

10. Prusia, king of Bithynia. 2. **Pergamenus**: of Pergamum, in Mysia.

- 4 paucis diebus erant decreturi. Superabatur navium
multitudine; dolō erat pugnandum, cum pār nōn esset
armis. Imperavit quam plurimās venenātās serpentēs
5 vivās colligī eāsque in vāsa fictilia conici. Hārum
cum effecisset magnam multitudinem, diē ipsō quō
facturus erat navāle proelium clāssiārīos convocat
eisque praecipit, omnēs ut in ūnam Eumenis rēgis
concurrant navem, ā cēteris tantum satis habeant
sē dēfendere; id illōs facile serpentium multitudinem
6 cōsecutūrōs. Rēx autem in quā navē veherētur, ut
scirent, sē facturum; quem sī aut cēpissent aut inter-
fecissent, magnō eis pollicētur praemiō fore.
- 11 Tālī cohortātiōne militum factā, clāssis ab utrīsq̄ue
in proelium dēducitur. Quārum aciē cōstitutā, prius-
quam signum pūgnae darētur, Hannibal, ut palam
faceret suis quō locō Eumenēs esset, tabellārium in
2 scaphā cum cādūceō mittit. Quī ubi ad navēs adver-
sāriōrum pervēnit epistulamque ostendēs sē rēgem
professus est quaerere, statim ad Eumenem dēductus
est, quod nēmō dubitābat quīn aliquid dē pāce esset
scrīptum. Tabellārius ducis navē dēclārātā suis,
3 eōdem unde erat ēgressus sē recēpit. At Eumenēs,
solūtā epistolā, nihil in eā repperit nisi quae ad irri-
dendum eum pertinērent. Cūius rei etsī causam mirā-
bātur neque reperiēbat, tamen proelium statim com-
4 mittere nōn dubitāvit. Hōrum in concursū Bithynī
Hannibalis praeceptō ūniversī navem Eumenis adoriun-
tur. Quōrum vim rēx cum sustinēre nōn posset, fugā
salūtem petiit; quam cōsecūtus nōn esset nisi intrā
sua praesidia sē recēpisset, quae in proximō litore

10. 5. **satis** h.: cf. XX. 2, 4, n. (p. 120).

11. **quarum**: *classium*. — **tabellarium**, etc.: *despatches a messenger in a boat with a herald's wand*. 2. **declarata**: *made known*.

erant collocāta. Reliquae Pergamēnae nāvēs cum 5
adversāriōs premerent ācrius, repente in eās vāsa ficti-
lia, dē quibus suprà mentiōnem fēcimus, conici coepta
sunt. Quae iacta, initiō risum pūgnantibus concitā-
runt neque quārē id fieret poterat intellegī. Postquam 6
autem nāvēs suās opplētās cōspexērunt serpentibus,
novā rē perterritī, cum quid potissimum vitārent nōn
vidērent, puppēs vertērunt sēque ad sua castra nautica
rettulērunt. Sic Hannibal cōnsiliō arma Pergamēnō- 7
rum superāvit, neque tum solum sed saepe aliās pede-
stribus cōpiīs parī prūdentiā pepulit adversāriōs.

Quae dum in Asiā geruntur, accidit cāsū ut lēgātī 12
Prūsiae Rōmae apud T. Quīntium Flāmininum cōn-
sulārem cēnārent, atque ibi dē Hannibale mentiōne
factā, ex eīs ūnus diceret eum in Prūsiae rēgnō esse.
Id posterō diē Flāmininus senātui dētulit. Patrēs 2
cōscriptī, quī Hannibale vivō numquam sē sine insi-
diis futūrōs existimārent, lēgātōs in Bithyniam misē-
runt, in eīs Flāmininum, quī ab rēge peterent nē
inimicissimum suom sēcum habēret sibiue dēderet.
His Prūsia negāre ausus nōn est; illud recūsāvit, nē 3
id ā sē fierī pōstulārent quod adversus iūs hospitī
esset; ipsī sī possent comprehenderent; locum ubi
esset facile inventūrōs. Hannibal enim ūnō locō sē
tenēbat, in castellō quod ei ā rēge datum erat mūnerī,
idque sic aedificārat ut in omnibus partibus aedifici
exitūs habēret, scilicet verēns nē ūsū venīret quod
accidit. Hūc cum lēgātī Rōmānōrum vēnissent ac 4
multitūdine domum eius circumdedissent, puer ab

11. 6. *puppēs v.*: 'turned their backs,' so to speak.

12. 3. *usu v.*: *accideret*. The subject is *quod accidit*, 'what did happen.' 4. *puer*: *slave*.

- iānuā prōspiciēns Hannibalī dīxit plūrēs praeter cōsuētūdinem armātōs appārēre. Quī imperāvit eī ut omnēs forēs aedificī circumīret ac properē sibi nūntiāret num eōdem modō undique obsidērētur. Puer cum celeriter quid vīdisset renūntiāasset omnēsque exitūs occupātōs ostendisset, sēnsit id nōn fōrtuitō factum sed sē petī, neque sibi diūtius vītā esse retinendam. Quām nē aliēnō arbitriō dīmitteret, memor prīstinārum virtūtum, venēnum quod semper sēcum habēre consuērat sūmpsit.
- 13 Sic vir fortissimus, multis variisque perfūctus laboribus, annō acquiēvit septuāgēsīmō. Quibus cōsulibus interierit, nōn convenit. Namque Atticus M. Claudiō Marcellō Q. Fabiō Labeōne cōsulibus mortuom in annālī suō scrīptum relīquit, at Polybius L. Aemiliō Paulō Cn. Baebiō Tamphilō, Sulpicius autem Blithō P. Cornēliō Cethēgō M. Baebiō Tamphilō.
- 2 Atque hīc tantus vir tantisque bellis dīstrictus non-nihil temporis tribuit litterīs. Namque aliquot eius librī sunt, Graecō sermōne cōfectī, in eis ad Rhodiōs
- 3 dē Cn. Manlī Vulsōnis in Asiā rēbus gestīs. Hūius bellī gesta multī memoriae prōdidērunt, sed ex eis duo quī cum eō in castrīs fuērunt simulque vīxērunt, quamdiū fōrtūna pāssa est, Silēnus et Sōsilus Lacedaemonius. Atque hōc Sōsilō Hannibal litterārum Graecārum ūsus est doctōre.
- 4 Sed nōs tempus est hūius librī facere finem et Rōmānōrum explicāre imperātōrēs, quō facilius, collātīs utrōrumque factīs, quī virī praeferendī sint possit iūdicārī.

12. 4. **num**: *whether*. 5. **neque retinendam**: *could not be preserved*.

13. **acquiēvit**: *went to his rest*. The three dates are B.C. 183, 182, 181.—**Blitho**: nominative case.

XXIV.

CATO.

M. Catō, ortus mūnicipiō Tusculō, adulēscētulus, 1
 priusquam honōribus opēram daret, versātus est in
 Sabīnis, quod ibi hērēdium ā patre relictum habēbat.
 Inde hortātū L. Valerī Flaccī, quem in cōsulātū
 cēnsūrāque habuit collēgam (ut M. Perpenna cēnsōrius
 nārrāre solitus est) Rōmam dēmigrāvit in forōque
 esse coepit. Primum stīpendium meruit annōrum 2
 decem septemque. Q. Fabiō M. Claudiō cōsulibus
 tribūnus militum in Siciliā fuit. Inde ut rediit, castra
 secūtus est C. Claudī Nerōnis māgnīque opera eius
 exīstimāta est in proeliō apud Sēnam, quō cecidit Has-
 drubal, frāter Hannibalis. Quaestor obtigit P. Afri- 3
 cānō cōsuli; cum quō nōn prō sortis necessitudīne
 vīxit; namque ab eō perpetuā dissēnsit vītā. Aedilis
 plēbi factus est cum C. Helviō. Praetor prōvinciam 4
 obtinuit Sardiniam, ex quā quaestor superiōre tempore
 ex Āfricā dēcēdēns Q. Ennium poētā dēdūxerat;
 quod nōn minōris aestimāmus quam quemlibet amplis-
 simum Sardiniēsem triumphum.

Cōsulātum gessit cum L. Valeriō Flaccō. Sorte 2

CATO THE CENSOR, B.C. 234-149. — 1. *ensorius*: *ex-censor*, cf. 'consular.' — *in foro*: *i.e.*, in public life. Cf. *honoribus operam dare*, above. 2. *stipendium m.*: 'served a term in the ranks,' for the pay of a common soldier. — *consulibus*: B.C. 214. — Sena, in Umbria. The battle, B.C. 207. 3. *quaestor*: B.C. 205. — *obtigit*: *fell to the lot of*. Cf. *sortis*, below. — *pro sortis n.*: 'as might have been expected from their official connection.' 4. *praetor*: B.C. 198. — *deduxerat*: *sc. Romam*.

2. *consulatum*: B.C. 195. His *triumph* was in the foll. year.

- prōvinciam nactus Hispāniam citeriōrem ex eā triumphum dēportāvit. Ibi cum diūtius morārētur, P. Scīpiō Africānus cōsul iterum, cuius in priōre cōsulātū quaestor fuerat, voluit eum dē prōvinciā dēpellere et ipse eī succēdere; neque hōc per senātum efficere potuit, cum quidem Scīpiō principātum in civitate obtinēret, quod tum nōn potentiā sed iūre rēs publica administrābatur. Quā ex rē irātus senatū, cōsulātū peractō privātus in urbe mānsit. At Catō, cēnsor cum eōdem Flaccō factus, sevērē praefuit eī potestātī. Nam et in complūrēs nōbiles animadvertit, et multās rēs novās in ēdictum addidit quā rē lūxuria reprimerētur, quae iam tum incipiēbat pullulāre. Circa annōs octōgintā, usque ad extrēmam aetātem ab adulescentiā, rei publicae causā suscipere inimicitias nōn dēstitit. Ā multīs tentātus, nōn modo nūllum dētrimentum existimātiōnis fēcit, sed quoad vixit virtutum laude crēvit.
- 8 In omnibus rēbus singulārī fuit industriā; nam et agricola sollers et perītus iūris cōsultus et māgnus imperātor et probābilis orātor et cupidissimus litterarum fuit. Quārum studium etsī senior arripuerat, tamen tantum prōgressum fēcit ut nōn facile reperiri possit neque dē Graecis neque dē Italicis rēbus quod eī fuerit incōgnitum. Ab adulescentiā cōnfēcit orā-

2. 2. **tum**: Nepos reflects upon the decay of senatorial power and the growth of personal influence (*potentia*) in his own day. 3. **censor**: B.C. 184.—**animadvertit in**: *stigmatized*.—The censor's *edict* was issued at the beginning of his term of office, announcing the principles upon which he would act.—**qua re**: *whereby*.—**pullulare**: 'to spread' (*sprout*). 4. **tentatus**: *attacked*. Cato was defendant in a great many suits at law.—**nullum . . . fēcit**: 'sustained no damage to his reputation.'

3. **probabilis**: *convincing*.

tionēs. Senex historiās scribere instituit. Eārum 3
 sunt librī septem. Prīmus continet rēs gestās rēgum
 populi Rōmānī; secundus et tertius, unde quaeque
 civitās orta sit Ītalica; ob quam rem omnēs Orīginēs
 vidētur appellāsse. In quārtō autem bellum Poenicum
 est prīmum, in quīntō secundum; atque haec omnia
 capitulatim sunt dicta. Reliqua quoque bella parī 4
 modō persecūtus est ūsque ad praetūrām Servī Galbae,
 quī diripuit Lūsītānōs; atque hōrum bellōrum ducēs
 nōn nōmināvit sed sine nōminibus rēs nōtāvit. In
 eisdem exposuit quae in Ītaliā Hispāniisque vidēren-
 tur admiranda. In quibus multa industria et diligen-
 tia compāret, nūlla doctrīna.

Hūius dē vitā et mōribus plūra in eō librō persecūtī 5
 sumus quem sēparatim dē eō fēcimus rogātū T. Pom-
 pōnī Attici. Quārē studiōsōs Catōnis ad illud volūmen
 dēlēgāmus.

XXV.

ATTICUS.

T. Pompōnius Atticus, ab oriġine ūltimā stirpis 1
 Rōmānae generātus, perpetuō ā māiōribus equestrem
 obtinuit dignitātem. Patre ūsus est diligēte, et ut 2

3. 3. unde . . . orta sit: the title of a treatise often takes this form. Here, well defined by *Origines*. 4. capitulatim: i.e., not in detail. — in quibus: in all these works. — comparet: is manifested. — doctrina: cultivation. 5. studiosos C.: those who are interested in Cato.

ATTICUS, B.C. 109-32. — 1. ab origine u.: the Pomponian gens traced their descent to Numa Pompilius, the second king of Rome. — perpetuo obtinuit: Atticus, unlike his friend Cicero the orator, remained aloof from political life and made no attempt to rise above the equestrian order.

- tum erant tempora dīti, in prīmisque studiōsō litterārum. Hic, prout ipse amābat litterās, omnibus doctrīnis quibus puerilis aetās impertiri dēbet filium erudivit.
- 3 Erat autem in puerō praeter docilitātem ingenī summa suāvitās ōris atque vōcis, ut nōn solum celeriter acciperet quae trādēbantur, sed etiam excellenter prōnūntiāret. Quā ex rē in pueritiā nōbilis inter aequālēs ferēbātur clāriusque exsplendescēbat quam generōsī condiscipulī animō aequō ferre possent. Itaque incitābat omnēs studiō suō, quō in numerō fuērunt L. Torquātus, C. Marius filius, M. Cicerō; quōs consuētūdine suā sic dēvinxit, ut nēmō eis perpetuō fuerit cārior.
- 2 Pater mātūrē dēcēssit. Ipse adulēscēntulus, propter affinitātem P. Sulpici, quī tribūnus plēbēi interfectus est, nōn expers fuit illius periculī; namque Anicia, Pompōnī cōsobrīna, nūperat Serviō, frātrī Sulpici.
- 2 Itaque interfectō Sulpiciō posteaquam vīdit Cinnānō tumultū civitātem esse perturbātam, neque sibi dari facultātem prō dignitāte vivendī quā alterutram partem offenderet, dissociātis animīs civium, cum aliī Sullānis, aliī Cinnānis favērent partibus, idōneum tempus ratus studiis obsequendī suīs, Athēnās sē contulit.

1. 2. *diti*: *diviti*. — *doctrinis*: see XV. 2, 2, n. (p. 84). In Roman education instruction in the Greek language and literature held a prominent place: cf. 4, 1. 3. *suavitas*, etc.: cf. VII. 1, 2, end (p. 35). — *nobilis ferebatur*: *was distinguished*. — *generosi*: *high-spirited*. 4. *filius*: an adopted son of the celebrated Marius. — *Cicero*: three years younger, but died eleven years earlier than Atticus.

2. *tribunus* . . . *interfectus*: the persons of the tribunes of the people were sacred. Sulpicius was proscribed and put to death by Sulla, B.C. 88. 2. Cinna, as consul, recalled the proscribed, after the departure of Sulla to the Mithridatic War, and renewed the civil strife. — *partibus*: *party*; cf. *partem* ('side') above. — *Athenas*: B.C. 86.

Neque eō sētius adulēscētem Mariū, hostem iudicā-
tum, iūvit opibus suis; cūius fugam pecūniā suble-
vāvit. Ac nē illa peregrinātiō dētrimentum aliquod 3
afferret rei familiārī, eōdem māgnam partem fōrtūnā-
rum trāiecit suārum. Hic ita vixit ut ūniversis Athē-
niēnsibus meritō esset cārissimus. Nam praeter 4
grātiā, quae iam in adulēscēntulō māgnā erat, saepe
suis opibus inopiam eōrum publicā levāvit. Cum
enim versūrā facere publicē necesse esset, neque
eius condiōnem aequā habērent, semper sē inter-
posuit, atque ita, ut neque ūsūrā umquā ab eis accē-
perit, neque longius quam dictum esset dēbere pās-
sus sit. Quod utrumque erat eis salūtāre; nam neque 5
indulgēdō inveterāscere eōrum aes aliēnum patiēbātur
neque multiplicandis ūsūris crēscere. Auxit hōc offi- 6
cium aliā quoque liberālitate; nam ūniversōs frūmentō
dōnāvit, ita ut singulis sēnī modiī tritici darentur, quī
modus mēnsūrae medimnus Athēnis appellātur.

Hic autem sic sē gerēbat, ut commūnis infimis, pār 3
principibus vidērētur. Quō factum est ut huic omnēs
honōrēs quōs possent publicē habērent cīvemque facere
studērēt; quō beneficiō ille ūti nōluit. Quamdiū 2
affuit, nē qua sibi statua pōnerētur restitit; absēns
prohibēre nōn potuit. Itaque aliquot ipsi et Phidiae
locis sāctissimis posuērunt; hunc enim in omnī prō-

2. **iuvit**: to aid a proscribed person was to render oneself liable to proscription. Marius had escaped at the time Sulpicius was killed.
3. **eodem**: *Athenas*. 4. **gratiam**: *influence*.—**versuram**: properly a change of creditors, 'borrowing of Peter to pay Paul.' *v. facere publice*, 'to place a loan.'—**longius** . . . **debere**: 'the debt to stand beyond the time prescribed.' 5. **aes a.**: *debt*.—**multiplicandis u.**: *by compounding the interest*. 6. **Six modii** = one μέδιμνος.

3. **communis**: cf. I. 8, 4, n. (p. 10).—**habere**: *paid*; cf. IX. 1, 1. (p. 50). 2. **hunc**: *Phidiam*. He is otherwise unknown.

- cūratiōne rei pūblicae āctōrem auctōremque habēbant.
- 3 Igitur primum illud mūnus fōrtūnae, quod in eā urbe nātus est in quā domicilium orbis terrārum esset imperi, ut eandem et patriam habēret et domum; hōc specimē prūdētiaē, quod, cum in eam sē cīvitātē contulisset quae antīquitātē, hūmānitātē, doctrīnāque praestāret omnēs, ūnus eī fuit cārissimus.
- 4 Hūc ex Asiā Sulla dēcēdēns cum vēnisset, quamdiū ibi fuit sēcūm habuit Pompōnium, captus adulescentis et hūmānitātē et doctrīnā. Sic enim Graecē loquēbatur, ut Athēnis nātus vidērētur; tanta autem suāvitās erat sermōnis Latīni, ut appārēret in eō nātivum quendam lepōrem esse, nōn āscītum. Idem poēmata prōnūntiābat et Graecē et Latīnē sic ut suprā nihil posset addī. Quibus rēbus factum est ut Sulla nūquam eum ab sē dīmitteret cuperetque sēcūm dēducere. Quī cum persuādēre tentāret, 'Nōlī, ōrō tē,' inquit Pompōnius, 'adversum eōs mē velle dūcere, cum quibus nē contrā tē arma ferrem, Ītaliā relīquī.' At Sulla, adulescentis officiō collaudātō, omnia mūnera eī quae Athēnis accēperat proficiscēns iūssit dēferri.
- 3 Hic complūrēs annōs morātus, cum et rei familiārī tantum operae daret quantum nōn indiligēns dēberet

3. 2. *actorem auctorem*: note the assonance. 3. *illud*: opp. to *hoc*, below. The copula is to be supplied with both words. — *et patriam et domum*: remember that Pomponius declined the gift of Athenian citizenship. Notwithstanding the title *Atticus* he remained a Roman. — *humanitate*: *refinement*.

4. *ex Asia*: at the close of the Mithridatic War, when Atticus was 25 years of age. — *videretur*: of semblance. — *appareret*: of fact. — *leporem*: *charm*. 2. *deducere*: cf. XXIV. 1, 4. (p. 139). — *officio*: *sense of duty*. By political sympathies an optimist, like Sulla, Atticus was bound by personal ties to certain adherents of the popular party. — *deferri*: cf. *delatum*, XV. 4, 4, n. (p. 86). 3. *non indiligens*: i.e., if he would avoid the imputation of neglecting it. A *litotes* is often apologetic. — *paterfamilias* comes pretty near to 'capitalist' here.

pater familiās, et omnia reliqua tempora aut litteris aut Athēniēnsium rei publicae tribueret, nihilō minus amicis urbāna officia praestitit. Nam et ad comitia 4 eōrum ventitāvit et sī qua rēs māior ācta est nōn dēfuit. Sicut Cicerōnī in omnibus eius periculis singulārem fidem praeuit; cui ex patriā fugienti sēstertiūm ducenta et quīnquāgintā milia dōnāvit. Tranquillātis 5 autem rēbus Rōmānīs remigrāvit Rōmam, ut opīnor L. Cottā L. Torquātō cōsulibus; quem discēdentem sic ūniversa cīvitas Athēniēnsium prōsecūta est ut lacrimis dēsiderī futūrī dolōrem indicāret.

Habēbat avonculum Q. Caecilium, equitem Rōmā- 5 num, familiārem L. Lūculli, dīvitē, difficillimā nātūrā; cūius sic asperitatem veritus est, ut quem nēmō ferre posset, hūius sine offēnsiōne ad summam senectutē retinuerit benevolentiam. Quō factō tulit pietātis fructum. Caecilius enim moriēns testāmētō 2 adoptāvit eum hērēdemque fēcit ex dōdrante; ex quā hērēditate accēpit circiter centiēs sēstertiūm. Erat 3 nūpta soror Attici Q. Tullio Cicerōnī, eāsque nūptiās M. Cicerō conciliārat, cum quō ā condiscipulātū vivēbat coniūctissimē, multō etiā familiārius quam cum Quīntō, ut iūdicārī possit plūs in amīcitīā valēre simi-

4. *urbana*: at Rome. — *officia p.*: cf. I. 2, 3, n. (p. 4). 4. *comitia*: their elections. — *res m.*: cf. II. 1, 3, n. (p. 11). — *fugienti*: the exile of Cicero was in B.C. 58, after the return of Att. to Rome. — *sestertiūm*: *sestertiorum*. Allow twenty to a dollar. 5. *L. Torquato*: see 1, 4. The year, B.C. 65. — *universa c.*: cf. VII. 6, 1 (p. 40). — *prosecuta*: cf. VII. 6, 3. — *desideri f.*: 'at the loss they were to suffer.'

5. *difficillima n.*: 'very hard to get along with,' as we say. 2. By this adoption his name came to be Q. Caecilius Pomponius Atticus. — *ex d.*: to three-fourths of his estate; *dodrans* = *de quadrans*, 1 - 1/4 = 3/4. — *centies*: i.e., c. *centena milia*, 10,000,000. Abbreviated expressions were employed for very large sums. 3. Quintus Cicero, the brother of the orator.

- 4 litūdinem mōrum quam affinitātem. Ūtēbātur autem intinē Q. Hortēnsiō, quī eīs temporibus principātum eloquentiae tenēbat, ut intellegī nōn posset uter eum plūs dīligeret, Cicerō an Hortēnsius; et id quod erat difficillimum efficiēbat, ut inter quōs tanta laudis esset aemulātiō, nūlla intercēderet obtrēctātiō essetque tālium virōrum cōpula.
- 6 In rē publicā ita est versātus ut semper optimārum partium et esset et exīstimārētur, neque tamen sē cīvilibus fluctibus committeret, quod nōn magis eōs in suā potestāte exīstimābat esse quī sē hīs dedissent quam
- 2 quī maritimīs iactārentur. Honōrēs nōn petiit, cum eī patērent propter vel grātiā vel dīgnitātem, quod neque petī mōre māiōrum neque capī possent, cōservātīs lēgibus, in tam effūsīs ambitūs largitiōnibus, neque gerī ē rē publicā sine periculō, corruptīs cīvītatīs mōribus. Ad hastam publicā numquam accessit.
- 3 Nullius rei neque praes neque manceps factus est. Nēmīnem neque suō nōmine neque subscribēns accūsāvit; in iūs dē suā rē numquam iit; iūdicium nūllum
- 4 habuit. Multōrum cōsulum praetōrumque praefectūrās dēlātās sic accēpit, ut nēmīnem in prōvinciam sit secūtus, honōre fuerit contentus, rei familiāris dē-

5. 4. *copula*: the mutual friend was a 'bond of union' between the two great rivals in oratory,

6. *optimarum p.*: *optimatum*. — *in sua p.*: 'their own masters.' — *maritimis*: the waves 'of the real ocean.' 2. *more m.*: *i.e.*, when offices were solicited on grounds of merit, not by means of lavish outlays of electioneering funds (*ambitus largitionibus*). — *e re p.*: to the advantage of the commonwealth. 3. *hastam p.*: public auction. — *praes*: bondsman for a farmer of the public revenues. — *manceps*: the 'publican' himself. — *subscribens*: 'as second,' to support the action of another. — *iudicium, etc.*: *i.e.*, never served as *iudex* ('juror'). 4. *praefecturas*: governorships.

spexerit fructum; qui nē cum Quintō quidem Cicerōne voluerit ire in Asiam, cum apud eum lēgātī locum obtinēre posset. Nōn enim decēre sē arbitrābātur, cum praetūram gerere nōlisset, asseclam esse praetōris. Quā in rē nōn solum dignitatī serviēbat, sed etiam tranquillitatī, cum sūspiciōnēs quoque vitāret criminum. Quō fiēbat ut eius observantia omnibus esset cārior, cum eam officiō, nōn timōri neque spei tribui vidērent.

Incidit Caesariānum civīle bellum. Cum habēret annōs circiter sexāgintā, ūsus est aetātis vacatiōne neque sē quōquam mōvit ex urbe. Quae amicis suis opus fuerant ad Pompēium proficiscentibus, omnia ex suā rē familiārī dedit; ipsum Pompēium coniūctum nōn offendit. Nullum ab eō habēbat ornāmentum, ut cēteri quī per eum aut honōrēs aut dīvitias cēperant; quōrum partim invītissimī castra sunt secūtī, partim summā cum eius offēnsiōne domī remānsērunt. Caesarī autem Atticī quīēs tantō opere fuit grāta, ut victor, cum privātis pecūniās per epistulās imperāret, huic nōn solum molestus nōn fuerit, sed etiam sorōris filium et Q. Cicerōnem ex Pompēi castris concesserit. Sic vetere institūtō vitāe effūgit nova pericula.

Secūtum est illud. Occisō Caesare cum rēs pū-

6. 4. **fructum**: the emoluments consisted in contributions (often extorted) from the provincials. He even declined the position of *legatus* to his brother-in-law, who went as *propraetor* to Asia, B.C. 61.—**asseclam**: *servant*; der. from *sequor*. 5. **observantia**: *attention*.

7. **aetatis v.**: the exemption (from military service) accorded to his age.—**coniunctum**: cf. *coniuncta vixit*, 10, 3; also 12, 1. 2. **ornamentum**: defined by what follows. Atticus had not laid himself under special obligations to Pompey. 3. **imperaret**: cf. IX. 4, 2 (p. 52); XV. 3, 5 (p. 85).—**filium**: bearing the same name as his father, Q. Tullius Cicero.—**concesserit**: 'pardoned.'

8. **occiso**: B.C. 44.

- blica penes Brūtōs vidērētur esse et Cassium ac tōta
 2 cīvītās sē ad eōs convertisse, sic M. Brūtō ūsus
 est, ut nūllō ille adulēscēns aequālī familiārius quam
 hōc sene, neque solum eum principem cōnsili habē-
 3 ret, sed etiam in convictū. Excōgitātum est ā qui-
 busdam ut privātum aerārium Caesaris interfectōri-
 bus ab equitibus Rōmānīs cōstituerētur. Id facile
 effici posse arbitrātī sunt, sī principēs eius ordinis
 pecūniās contulissent. Itaque appellātus est ā C.
 Flāviō, Brūtī familiārī, Atticus ut eius rei princeps
 4 esse vellet. At ille, quī officia amīcīs praestanda sine
 factiōne exīstimāret semperque ā tālibus sē cōnsiliis
 remōvisset, respondit: sī quid Brūtus dē suis facultāti-
 bus ūtī voluisset, ūsūrum quantum eae paterentur, sē
 neque cum quōquam dē eā rē collocūtūrum neque coi-
 tūrum. Sic ille cōnsēnsiōnis globus hūius ūnūs dis-
 5 sēnsiōne disiectus est. Neque multō post superior
 esse coepit Antōnius, ita ut Brūtus et Cassius, omissā
 cūrā prōvinciārum quae eis dicis causā datae erant ā
 cōnsule, dēspērātīs rēbus in exsilium proficiscerentur.
 6 Atticus, quī pecūniam simul cum cēterīs cōferre
 nōluerat flōrentī illī partī, abiectō Brūtō Italiāque
 cēdenti sēstertium centum milia mūnerī mīsit. Eīdem
 in Ēpīrō absēns trecenta iussit darī, neque eō magis
 potentī adulātus est Antōniō neque dēspērātōs reliquit.
 9 Secūtum est bellum gestum apud Mutinam. In

8. 2. *familiaris*: sc. *uteretur*. — *convictu*: *daily intercourse*.
 4. *factione*: *intrigue*. — *consensionis* g.: 'knot of associates.' 5. *dicis*
 c.: *for form's sake*; in fact, to get them out of Rome. Antony was
 consul, and through his influence Asia and Sicily were assigned to
 Brutus and Cassius respectively.

9. *Mutinam*: South of the Po. Here D. Brutus was besieged by An-
 tony, but the latter was forced, by an army which the senate despatched
 to the relief of Mutina, to raise the siege and take refuge beyond the Alps.

quō sī tantum eum prūdentem dicam, minus quam
 dēbeam praedicem, cum ille potius dīvinus fuerit, sī
 divīnatiō appellanda est perpetua nātūrālis bonitās
 quae nullis cāsibus agitātur neque minuitur. Hostis 2
 Antōnius iūdicātus Italiā cēsserat; spēs restituendī
 nulla erat. Nōn solum inimicī, quī tum erant poten-
 tissimī et plūrimī, sed etiam quī adversāriis eius sē
 vēnditābant et in eō laedendō aliquam cōsecūtūrōs
 spērābant commoditātem, Antōnī familiārēs insequē-
 bantur, uxōrem Fulviam omnibus rēbus spoliāre cupiē-
 bant, liberōs etiam exstinguere parābant. Atticus, cum 3
 Cicerōnis intimā familiāritāte ūteretur, amīcissimus
 esset Brūtō, nōn modo nihil eis indulsit ad Antōnium
 violandum, sed ē contrāriō familiārēs eius ex urbe
 profugientēs quantum potuit tēxit, quibus rēbus indi-
 guērunt adiūvit. Pūbliō vērō Volumniō ea tribuit ut 4
 plūra ā pārente proficīscī nōn potuerint. Ipse autem
 Fulviae, cum lītibus distinērētur māgnisque terrōribus
 vexārētur, tantā dīligentiā officium suum praestitit, ut
 nullum illa stiterit vadimōnium sine Atticō, Atticus
 spōnsor omnium rērum fuerit. Quīn etiam, cum illa 5
 fundum secundā fōrtūnā ēmisset in diem neque post
 calamitātem versūram facere potuisset, ille sē interpo-
 suit pecūniamque sine faenore sineque ūllā stipulātiōne
 crēdidit, māximum exīstimāns quaestum memorem
 grātumque cōgnōscī, simulque aperiēns sē nōn fōrtūnae
 sed hominibus solēre esse amīcum. Quae cum faciē- 6
 bat, nēmō eum temporis causā facere poterat existi-

9. *prudentem* : *providentem*. — *divinus* : *prophetic*. Cf. 16, 4.
 2. *inimici* : including Cicero, whose last great oratorical efforts were
 the 'Philippics' delivered against Antony. 4. *ea* : *tanta*. — *stiterit* v. :
vadimonium sistere, 'to make good one's bail,' i.e., to appear in court.
 5. *versuram* : see 2, 4, n.

māre; nēminī enim in opiniōnem veniebat Antōnium rerum potitūrum. Sed sēnsus eius ā nōnnūllis optimatibus reprehendebātur, quod parum odisse malōs civēs vidērētur. Ille autem suī iūdicī potius quid sē facere pār esset intuēbātur quam quid aliī laudātūrī forent.

- 10 **Conversa** subito fōrtūna est. Ut Antōnius rediit in Ītaliā, nēmō nōn māgnō in periculō Atticum putārat propter intimā familiāritātem Cicerōnis et Brūtī.
- 2 Itaque ad adventum imperātorum dē forō dēcesserat, timēns prōscriptiōnem, latēbatque apud P. Volumnium, cui, ut ostendimus paulō ante, opem tulerat (tanta varietās eis temporibus fuit fōrtūnae, ut modo hī modo illi in summō essent aut fastigiō aut periculō), habebatque sēcum Q. Gellium Cānum, aequālem simil-
- 3 limumque suī. Hōc quoque est Atticī bonitātis exemplum, quod cum eō quem puerum in lūdō cōgnōrat adeō coniūctē vixit ut ad extrēmā aetātem amicitia eōrum crēverit. Antōnius autem, etsī tantō odiō ferebātur in Cicerōnem ut nōn solum ei sed etiam omnibus eius amicis esset inimicus eōsque vellet prōscribere, multis hortantibus tamen Atticī memor fuit officī, et ei, cum requisisset ubinam esset, suā manū scripsit nē timēret statimque ad sē venīret; sē eum, et illius causā Cānum, dē prōscriptōrum numerō exemisse. Ac nē quod periculum incideret, quod noctū

9. 7. **sensus**: *taste*. — **malos**: opp. to *boni*, *optimates*, ('aristocrats.') — **sui i.**: 'acting on his own judgment.' — **par**: *right*.

10. **conversa**: by the coalition of Antony, Octavius, and Lepidus, known as the Second Triumvirate, B.C. 43. 2. **imperatorum**: the Triumvirs. — **de foro d.**: *i.e.*, he was no longer to be seen in public. — **fastigio**: *power (elevation)*. 3. **in ludo**: *at school*. 4. **hortantibus**: *sc. ut Atticum proscriberet*. — **quod**: *since*. At night a mistake might be made in what was going on during this reign of terror.

fiēbat, praesidium ei mīsit. Sic Atticus in summō 5
timōre nōn solum sibi sed etiam ei quem cārissimum
habēbat praesidiō fuit, ut appāreret nullam seiunctam
sibi ab eō velle fōrtūnam. Quodsi gubernātor praeci- 6
puā laude fertur, quī nāvem ex hieme marique sco-
pulōsō servat, cūr nōn singulāris eius existimētur
prūdētia quī ex tot tamque gravibus procellis cīvili-
bus ad incolumitatem pervenit?

Quibus ex malis ut sē ēmersit, nihil aliud ēgit 11
quam ut quam plūrimis, quibus rēbus posset, esset
auxiliō. Cum prōscrip̄tōs praemiis imperātōrum vol-
gus conquīreret, nēmō in Ēpīrum vēnit cui rēs ūlla
dēfuerit; nēmīnī nōn ibi perpetuō manendī potestās
facta est; quīn etiam, post proelium Philippēse interi- 2
tumque C. Cassī et M. Brūtī, L. Iulium Mōcillam
praetōrium et filium eius, Aulumque Torquātum, cēte-
rōsque parī fōrtūnā perculsōs instituit tuērī, atque ex
Ēpīrō eis omnia Samothrāciam supportārī iussit. Diffi- 3
cile est omnia persequī et nōn necessārium. Illud
ūnum intellegī volumus, illius liberalitatem neque
temporāriam neque callidam fuisse. Id ex ipsīs rēbus 4
ac temporibus iudicārī potest, quod nōn flōrentibus sē
vēnditāvit, sed afflictis semper succurrit; quī quidem
Serviliam, Brūtī mātrem, nōn minus post mortem eius
quam flōrentem coluerit. Sic liberalitate utēns nullās 5
inimicitias gessit, quod neque laedēbat quemquam,
neque sī quam iniūriam accēperat nōn mālēbat obli-
viscī quam ulciscī. Idem immortalī memoriā percepta

11. **Epirum**: where Brutus and Cassius were in control for the time being. Cf. 8, 6. Atticus had estates in Epirus; see 14, 3. 2. The battle of Philippi, in Macedon, B.C. 42. — **praetorium**: cf. *censorius*, XXIV. 1, 1, n. (p. 139). — **Samothrace**, an island in the N. Aegean Sea. 3. **temporariam**: *time-serving*. — **callidam**: *calculating*.

retinēbat beneficia; quae autem ipse tribuerat, tam diū
 6 meminerat quoad ille grātus erat quī accēperat. Ita-
 que hīc fēcit ut vērē dictum videātur:

Sui cuique mōrēs fīngunt fōrtūnam hōminībus.

Neque tamen ille prius fōrtūnam quam sē ipse finxit,
 quī cāvit nē quā in rē iūre plecteretur.

12 Hīs igitur rēbus effēcit ut M. Vipsānius Agrippa,
 intimā familiāritāte coniūctus adulēcentī Caesarī,
 cum propter suam grātiā et Caesaris potentiam nū-
 lius condiōnis nōn habēret potestātem, potissimum
 eius dēligeret affinitātem praeoptāretque equitis Rō-
 2 mānī filiam generōsārum nūptiīs. Atque hārum nū-
 ptiārum conciliātor fuit (nōn est enim celandum) M.
 Antōnius, triumvirū rei publicae cōstituendae.
 Cuius grātiā cum augēre possessiōnēs posset suās, tan-
 tum āfuit ā cupiditāte pecūniae ut nullā in rē ūsus sit
 eā nisi in dēprecandīs amīcōrum aut periculīs aut
 3 incommodīs. Quod quidem sub ipsā prōscriptiōne
 perillūstre fuit. Nam cum L. Saufēi, equitis Rōmānī,
 aequālis suī, quī complūrēs annōs studiō ductus philoso-
 phiae habitābat Athēnīs habēbatque in Ītaliā pretiōsās
 possessiōnēs, triumvirī bona vēdidissent, consuetūdine

11. 6. The verse, an iambic trimeter (*senarius*), is from an un-
 known poet. — **sui**: one syllable (swi). — **neque**, etc.: 'Atticus, how-
 ever, shaped his character first,' Nepos means to say. — **plecteretur**:
 blamed; cf. I. 8, 4 (p. 10).

12. **Caesari**: Octavius. Through adoption by the Dictator his name
 was C. Julius Caesar Octavianus. — **condicionis**: *match*. — **equitis R.**:
 Atticus. — **generosarum n.**: 'rather than to marry a lady of the
 nobility.' 2. **conciliator**: cf. *conciliarat*, 5, 3. The parenthetical
 remark is made because at the time of writing Octavian and Antony
 were enemies. — **triumvirū**: *unus triumvirorum*. — **rei p. c.**: official
 phrase denoting the purpose of the coalition. — **cuius**: *Antoni*.

eā quā tum rēs gerēbantur, Atticī labōre atque industriā factum est ut eōdem nūntiō Saufēius fieret certior sē patrimonium amīsisse et recuperāsse. Idem L. 4 Iulium Calidum, quem post Lucrētī Catullique mortem multō elegantissimum poētā nostram tulisse aetātem vērē videor posse contendere, neque minus virum bonum optimisque artibus eruditum, post prōscriptiōnem equitum propter magnās eius Africānās possessionēs in prōscriptōrum numerum ā P. Volumniō, praefectō fabrūm Antōnī, absentem relātum expēdīvit. Quod in praesentī utrum eī labōriōsius an 5 glōriōsius fuerit, difficile est iūdicāre, quod in eōrum periculīs nōn secus absentēs quam praesentēs amīcōs Atticō esse cūrae cōgnitum est.

Neque vērō ille minus bonus pater familiās habitus 13 est quam cīvis. Nam cum esset pecūniōsus, nēmō illō minus fuit emāx, minus aedificātor. Neque tamen nōn in primīs bene habitāvit omnibusque optimīs rēbus ūsus est. Nam domum habuit in colle Quirinālī Tamphiliānam, ab avunculō hērēditāte relictā; cūius amoenitās nōn aedificiō sed silvā cōnstābat. Ipsum enim tēctum, antiquitus cōstitutum, plūs salis quam sūmptūs habebat; in quō nihil commūtāvit, nisi sī quid vetustāte coactus est. Ūsus est familiā, sī utilitāte 3 iūdicandum est, optimā; sī fōrmā, vix mediocrī.

12. 4. The poets Lucretius and Catullus both died about B.C. 50. Catullus' collection of poems is inscribed to Cornelius Nepos. Of Calidus nothing further is known. — *in numerum*: with *relatum*, below. — *fabrūm*: *fabrorum*; belonging to the army. 5. *laboriosius*: more dangerous.

13. 2. *Tamphilianam*: named from its original owner Tamphilus. — *salis*: taste. 3. *familia*: establishment, of slaves. — *forma*: the slaves of Atticus were not selected merely for their good looks.

- Namque in eā erant pueri litteratissimi, anagnostae optimi et plurimi librarii, ut nē pedisequos quidem quisquam esset qui nōn utrumque hōrum pulchrē facere posset; parī modō artificēs cēteri, quōs cultus domesticus dēsiderat, apprimē boni. Neque tamen hōrum quemquam nisi domi nātum domique factum habuit, quod est signum nōn solum continentiae, sed etiam diligentiae. Nam et nōn intemperanter concupiscere quod a plurimis videās, continentis debet dūci; et potius industriā quam pretiō parāre, nōn mediocris est diligentiae. Elegāns nōn magnificus, splendidus nōn sumpuōsus, omnisque diligentia munditiam nōn affluentiam affectābat. Supellēx modica, nōn multa, ut in neutram partem cōspici posset. Nec praeteribō, quamquam nōnnūllis leve vīsum iri putem: cum in primis lautus esset eques Rōmānus et nōn parum liberaliter domum suam omnium ordinum hominēs invitāret, nōn amplius quam terna mīlia peraequē in singulōs mēnsēs ex ephēmeride eum expēsum sumpuī ferre solitum. Atque hōc nōn auditum sed cōgnitum praedicāmus; saepe enim propter familiāritatem domesticis rēbus interfuimus.
- 14 Nēmō in convīviō eius aliud acroāma audīvit quam anagnostēn (quod nōs quidem iucundissimum arbitramur), neque umquam sine aliquā lēctiōne apud eum

13. 3. *anagnostae*: ἀναγνώσται, 'readers.' — *librarii*: 'copyists.' These words explain *pueri litteratissimi*. — *utrumque h.*: i.e., both reading and writing. — *apprime b.*: first-rate. 4. *domi . . . factum*: home-bred and home-trained. — *a plurimis*: sc. *concupisci*. 5. *conspici*: conspicua esse. There was neither too much nor too little. 6. *ephemeride*: ἐφημερίς, 'day-book.' — *cum solitum*: dep. on *praeteribo*. — *expensum . . . ferre*: 'to enter as paid, etc.,' charge to living expenses.

14. *acroāma*: ἀκροάμα, any entertainment addressed to the ear.

cenatum est, ut non minus animo quam ventre convivae delectarentur; namque eos vocabat quorum 2
 mores a suis non abhorrent. Cum tanta pecuniae facta esset accessio, nihil de cottidiano cultu mutavit, nihil de vitae consuetudine; tantaque usus est moderatione, ut neque in sestertio viciis quod a patre acceperat parum se splendide gesserit, neque in sestertio centies affluentius vixerit quam instituerat, parique fastigio steterit in utraque fortuna. Nullos habuit 3
 hortos, nullam suburbanam aut maritimam sumptuosam villam, neque in Italia praeter Arretinum et Nomentanum, rusticum praedium; omnisque eius pecuniae reditus constabat in Epiroticis et urbanis possessionibus. Ex quo cognosci potest usum eum pecuniae non magnitudine sed ratione metiri solitum.

Mendacium neque dicebat neque pati poterat. Ita 15
 que eius comitas non sine severitate erat, neque gravitas sine facilitate, ut difficile esset intellectum utrum eum amici magis vererentur an amarent. Quidquid rogabatur, religiosè promittebat, quod non liberalis sed levis arbitrabatur polliceri quod praestare non possent. Idem in tuendo quod semel annuisset tanta erat cura, 2
 ut non mandatum sed suam rem videretur agere. Numquam suscepti negotii eum pertaesum est; suam enim existimationem in ea re agi putabat, quam nihil habebat carius. Quo fiebat ut omnia Ciceronum, M. 3
 Catonis, Q. Hortensii, A. Torquatii, multorum praeterea equitum Romanorum negotia procuraret. Ex quo

14. 2. sestertio v.: 2,000,000 sesterces. — sestertio c.: 10,000,000 s.
 3. Arretium, in Etruria. — Nomentum, in the Sabine country.

15. religiosè p.: i.e., he was scrupulously careful never to make a promise that he could not fulfil. 2. in ea re agi: 'was at stake.'

iudicārī poterat, nōn inertīā sed iudiciō fūgissee rei publicae prōcūrātiōnem.

- 16 Hūmānitātis vērō nūllum afferre māius tēstimōnium possum, quam quod adulēscēns idem senī Sullae fuit iūcundissimus, senex adulēscētī M. Brūtō, cum aequālibus autem suis Q. Hortēnsiō et M. Cicerōne sic vixit, ut iudicāre difficile sit cui aetātī fuerit aptissimus.
- 2 Quamquam eum praecipuē dilēxit Cicerō, ut nē frāter
- 3 quidem ei Quīntus cārior fuerit aut familiārior. Ei rei sunt indicio praeter eōs librōs in quibus dē eō facit mentiōnem, quī in vōlgus sunt editī, sēdecim volūmina epistulārū, ab cōsulātū eius ūsque ad extrēmum tempus ad Atticum missārū; quae quī legat, nōn multum dēsideret historiam contextam eōrum temporum. Sic enim omnia dē studiis principum, vitiis ducum, mūtātiōnibus rei publicae perscripta sunt, ut nihil in eis nōn appāreat, et facile exīstimārī possit prūdētiā quōdam modō esse dīvinātiōnem. Nōn enim Cicerō ea solum quae vīvō sē accidērunt futūra praedixit, sed etiam quae nunc ūsū veniunt cecinit ut vātēs.
- 17 Dē pietāte autem Attici quid plūra commemorem? cum hōc ipsum vērē glōriantem audierim in fūnere mātis suae, quam extulit annōrum nōnāgintā, cum ipse esset septem et sexāgintā: sē numquam cum mātē in grātiam redisse, numquam cum sorōre fuisse in similtate, quam prope aequālem habēbat. Quod est sīgnum, aut nūllam umquam inter eōs querimōniam intercēssisse aut hunc eā fuisse in suōs indulgentiā, ut
- 3 quōs amāre dēbēret irāscī eis nefās dūceret. Neque id

16. 3. *contextam*: *continuous*. 4. *cecinit*: *prophesied*.

17. *in gratiam r.*: never 'made up a quarrel,' i.e., never had one.

fēcit nātūrā solum, quamquam omnēs ei pārēmus, sed etiam doctrinā; nam principum philosophorum ita percepta habuit praecepta, ut eis ad vitam agendam nōn ad ostentatiōnem ūteretur.

Mōris etiam māiōrum summus imitātor fuit anti- 18
quitātisque amātor; quam adeō diligenter habuit cōgni-
tam, ut eam tōtam in eō volūmine exposuerit quō
magistrātūs ordināvit. Nulla enim lēx neque pāx 2
neque bellum neque rēs illūstris est populī Rōmānī
quae nōn in eō suō tempore sit nōtāta; et quod difficil-
limum fuit, sic familiārum orīginem subtexit ut ex
eō clārōrum virōrum propāginēs possīmus cōgnōscere.
Fēcit hōc idem sēparatim in aliīs libris, ut M. Brūtī 3
rogātū Iūniam familiam ā stirpe ad hanc aetātem
ordine enumerāvit, nōtāns quis ā quō ortus quōs
honōrēs quibusque temporibus cēpisset; parī modō 4
Marcelli Claudī Marcellōrum, Scīpiōnis Cornēli et
Fabī Māximī Fabiōrum et Aemiliōrum. Quibus libris
nihil potest esse dulcius eis quī aliquam cupiditātem
habent nōtitiae clārōrum virōrum. Attigit poētīcēn 5
quoque, crēdimus nē eius expers esset suāvitātis.
Namque versibus dē eis quī honōrē rērumque gestārum
amplitūdine cēterōs populī Rōmānī praestitērunt expo-
suit ita, ut sub singulōrum imāginibus facta magistrā- 6
tūsque eōrum nōn amplius quaternīs quīnīsque versibus
dēscripserit; quod vix crēdendum sit, tantās rēs tam
breviter potuisse dēclārārī. Est etiam ūnus liber
Graecē cōnfectus, dē cōsulātū Cicerōnis.

17. 3. *ei: naturae.* — *doctrina:* cf. *instituto*, 7, 3; *iudicio*, 15, 3: different forms of *principle*. — *percepta h.:* 'had taken to heart'; cf. *p. retinebat*, 11, 5.

18. 2. *propagines:* *pedigrees*. 4. *Marcelli C.:* sc. *rogatu*. — *Marcellorum:* *familiam enumeravit*, etc. 6. *imaginibus:* *portraits*.

- 19 Haec hactenus Atticō vivō editā a nobīs sunt. Nunc, quoniam fōrtūna nōs superstitēs eī esse voluit, reliqua persequēmur, et quantum potuerimus rerum exemplis lēctōrēs docēbimus, sicut suprà significāvimus, suōs cuique mōrēs plērumque conciliāre fōrtūnam.
- 2 Namque hīc contentus ōrdine equestri quō erat ortus, in affinitātem pervēnit imperātōris Divī fili, cum iam ante familiāritātem eius esset cōsecūtus, nullā aliā rē quam elegantīā vitāe, quā cēterōs cēperat principēs
- 3 dignitāte parī fōrtūnā humiliōrēs. Tanta enim prōsperitās Caesarem est cōsecūta, ut nihil eī nōn tribuerit fōrtūna quod cuiquam ante dētulerat, et conciliārit quod nēmō adhūc cīvis Rōmānus quīvit cōsequī.
- 4 Nāta est autem Atticō neptis ex Agrippā, cui virginem filiam collocārat. Hanc Caesar vix anniculam Ti. Claudiō Nerōnī, Drūsillā nātō, prīvignō suō dēspōndit; quae coniūctiō necessitudinem eōrum sānxit, familiāritātem reddidit frequentīōrem.
- 20 Quamquam ante haec spōnsālia, nōn solum cum ab urbe abesset, numquam ad suōrum quemquam litterās mīsit quā Atticō mitteret quid ageret, in primīs quid legeret, quibusque in locīs et quamdiū esset morātūrus,
- 2 sed etiam cum esset in urbe et propter infīnitās suās occupātiōnēs minus saepe quam vellet Atticō frueretur, nullus diēs temerē intercēssit quō nōn ad eum

19. The first eighteen chapters of this Life were published by Nepos while Atticus was still living. — *rerum*: of fact. 2. *imperatoris*: the senate conferred the title of 'emperor' on Octavian, B.C. 29; that of 'Augustus,' B.C. 27. Nepos, then, must have written these last chapters after the earlier of the two dates, and may not have survived the later one. — *Divi filius*, son of the deified Julius Caesar. 4. *anniculam*: a year old.

20. 2. *temere*: lightly; without thinking of Atticus.

scriberet, cum modo aliquid de antiquitate ab eo requireret, modo aliquam quaestionem poeticam ei proponeret, interdum iocans eius verbosiores eliceret epistulas. Ex quo accidit, cum aedis Iovis Feretri in Capitoliō ab Rōmulō cōstitutā, vetustate atque incūriā detecta, prolāberetur, ut Attici admonitū Caesar eam reficiendam cūraret. Neque verō a M. Antōniō minus absēns litteris colēbatur, adeō ut accuratē ille ex ultimis terris, quid ageret, cūrae sibi haberet certiores facere Atticum. Hōc quāle sit, facilius existimābit is qui iudicare poterit, quantae sit sapientiae eorum retinere usum benevolentiamque, inter quos maximarum rerum nōn solum aemulatiō sed obtrēctatiō tanta intercēdebat quantam fuit intercēdere necesse inter Caesarem atque Antōnium, cum sē uterque principem nōn solum urbis Rōmae sed orbis terrarum esse cuperet.

Tālī modō cum septem et septuāgintā annos complēset, atque ad extrēmam senectutem nōn minus dignitate quam grātiā fortūnaque crevisset (multas enim hereditates nullā aliā rē quam bonitate consecutus est), tantāque prosperitate usus esset valetudinis ut annis trigintā medicinā nōn indiguisset, nactus est morbum quem initio et ipse et medici contempsērunt. Nam putarunt esse tenesmon, cui remedia celeria faciliaque proponēbantur. In hōc cum trēs menses sine ullis doloribus praeterquam quos ex cūratiōne capiebat cōsumpsisset, subito tanta vis morbi in imum intestinum prorūpit ut extrēmō tempore per lumbos fistulae

20. 3. *detecta*: *unroofed*. 4. *accurate*: with *certiorem* f. 5. *usum*: *intimacy*.

21. 2. *tenesmon*: *τενερμόν*.

- 4 pūris ērūperint. Atque hōc priusquam eī accideret, postquam in diēs dolōrēs accrēscere febrēsque accēssisse sēnsit, Agrippam generum ad sē arcessī iūssit et cum eō L. Cornēlium Balbum Sextumque Pēducaeum.
- 5 Hōs ut vēnisse vīdit, in cubitum innīxus, 'Quantam' inquit 'cūram diligentiamque in valētūdine meā tuendā hōc tempore adhibuerim, cum vōs tēstēs habeam, nihil necesse est plūribus verbis commemorāre. Quibus quoniam, ut spērō, satisfēcī, mē nihil reliquī fēcisse quod ad sānandum mē pertinēret, reliquom est ut egomet mihi cōsulam. Id vōs Ignōrāre nōlū; nam
- 6 mihi stat alere morbum dēsinere. Namque hīs diēbus quicquid cibī sūmpsī ita prōdūxī vītā ut auxerim dolōrēs sine spē salūtis. Quārē ā vōbīs petō, primum ut cōnsilium probētis meum, deinde nē frūstrā dēhortandō impedīre cōnēmini.'
- 22 Hāc ōrātiōne habitā, tantā cōstantiā vōcis atque voltūs ut nōn ex vitā sed ex domō in domum vidērētur
- 2 migrāre, cum quidem Agrippa eum flēns atque ōsculāns ōrāret atque obsecrāret nē id quod nātūra cōgeret ipse quoque sibi accelerāret, et quoniam tum quoque posset temporibus superesse, sē sibi suisque reservāret, precēs eius taciturnā suā obstinatiōne repressit.
- 3 Sic cum biduom cibō sē abstinuisset, subitō febris decēssit leviorque morbus esse coepit. Tamen prōpositum nihilō sētius perēgit, itaque dēi quīntō postquam id cōnsilium inierat, pridīe Calendās Aprīlēs, Cn.
- 4 Domitiō C. Sosiō cōsulibus decēssit. Elātus est in lecticulā, ut ipse praescripserat, sine ullā pompā fūne-

21. 4. *in dies*: *from day to day*. 5. *nihil reliqui f.*: 'have left nothing undone.' — *mihi stat*: 'I am resolved.'

22. 2. *temporibus a.*: 'to pass the crisis.' — *itaque*: *itaque*.

ris, comitantibus omuibus bonis, mǎximā volgī frequentiā. Sepultus est iūxtā viam Appiam, ad quīntum lapidem, in monumentō Q. Caecili, avonculī suī.

22. 4. lapidem: *milestone*.

M

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